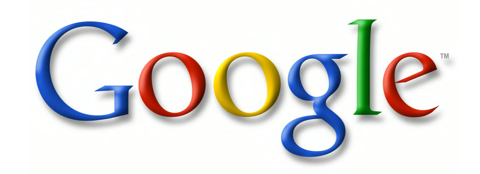




ROMAN EMPIRE

Roman Miles
0 500 1000

Mare Pigrum
Atlanticum Mare
Hibernia
Britannia
Eboracum
Londinium
Nerium Pr.
Cassiterides
Scandinavia
Cimbri
Frisii
Saxones
Suevia
Germania
Alemanni
Vistula Fl.
Albis Fl.
Rhenus Fl.
Belgæ
Celtica
Senones
Lutetia Par.
Liger Fl.
Garumna
Gallia
Burdegala
Lugdunum
Aquitania
Provincia
Rhodanus Fl.
Helvetia
Rhætia
Alpes Mt.
Patavium
Padus Fl.
Pannonia
Danubius Fl.
Sarmatia
Carpates Mt.
Borysthenes Fl.
Tanais Fl.
Gaetae
Dacia
Scythia
Volga Fl.
Caspium Mare
Palus Mæotis
Artabrum
Taraconensis
Hispania
Lusitania
Tagus Fl.
Valentia
Oretani
Corduba
Bætica
Corthago
Sacrum
Gades
Fretum Herculeum
Pyrenæi Mt.
Corsica
Sardinia
Roma
Capua
Sicilia
Syracusæ
Illyricum
Dalmatia
Mare Adriaticum
Mæsia
Thracia
Macedonia
Græcia
Mare Ionium
Creta
Pontus Euxinus
Colchis
Armenia
Media
Pontus
Sinope
Bithinia
Troja
Phrygia
Ephesus
Taurus Mt.
Tarsus
Cyprus
Mesopotamia
Tigris Fl.
Euphrates Fl.
Syria
Palmyra
Damascus
Judea
Hierosolyma
Babylonia
Petræa
Arabia
Pelusium
Arsinoe
Ælana
Ægyptus
Libya
Cyrene
Syrtis Maj.
Syrtis Min.
Hadrumetum
Tunis
Carthago
Numidia
Atlas Mt.
Mauritania
Gætulia
Gætuli Dara
Africa
Mare Internum

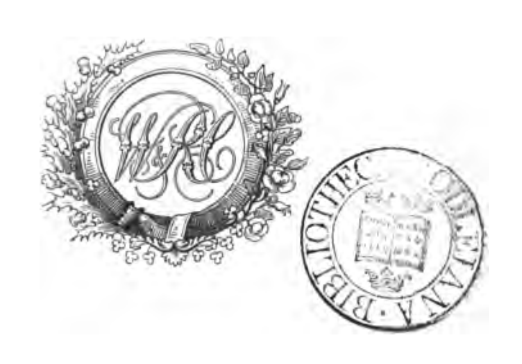
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CHAMBERS'S EDUCATIONAL COURSE—EDITED BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS.

HISTORY OF ROME.



EDINBURGH:
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PREFACE.

THAT after the labours of Niebuhr, Arnold, Michelet, Merimée, and others, our old Histories of Rome should continue to be read in schools, is a manifest injustice to the rising generation. The effect of these labours has been to furnish views of the Romans and their history altogether more full, more accurate, and life-like, than were entertained thirty years ago; and while such views have been universally accepted by scholars and historians, it is altogether anomalous that another set should be employed for educational purposes. When important additions have been made to any branch of knowledge by the industry of original inquirers, it is the bounden duty of those who are interested in the education of youth, to see that the new matter is instantly seized upon, and adapted to the juvenile apprehension. It was under this impression that the following pages were undertaken. The aim has been to present the results of recent inquiries into Roman History in as plain and attractive a form as possible. On points where a difference of opinion exists, discussion has of course been avoided, and the most probable conclusion adopted.

The special objects kept in view, have been to imprint vividly on the juvenile imagination a few of the more stirring and picturesque incidents in Roman History; to furnish a general picture of the social and political life of the Roman people; and to indicate, as far as possible, the place which they held, and the function which they performed, in the history of the world. To accomplish the first, as much care has been taken as the compendious nature of the book would permit, to dwell on points

of graphic interest, and to be lively in the description of men and things. To assist in the second object, the narrative has been twice interrupted—once near the beginning, and again towards the close—by what might be called *cross-sections* of the life of the Roman people—the one exhibiting the state of society among them while as yet they constituted a mere Italian nation; the other forming a survey of their Empire in its grandest aspect under Augustus. These interpolated chapters of general description will, it is trusted, be found useful. The third object has been studied, in the general arrangement of the contents; suggesting to the eye of the pupil the various stages of the Roman career, in various interspersed allusions to the connection of the Commonwealth with the surrounding contemporary world, and specially in the Recapitulation at the end. The narrative of the Period of the Empire, although sufficient for the purposes of the compilation, is necessarily more succinct than that of the Period of the Commonwealth.

Although in style and form the work has been specially adapted for use in schools, it is believed that private readers, who may be anxious to form some acquaintance with Roman History, will find it a suitable abridgment.

DAVID MASSON.

January 1848.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF ROME.

INTRODUCTION.

ANCIENT ITALY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

1. ITALY, the country in which the Roman people arose, and from which they extended their power and their name over surrounding nations, is one of the great natural divisions of Europe, being marked out from the rest by boundaries as precise as those of an island. On the east, the south, and the west, it is environed by the sea; on the remaining side, the semicircular chain of the Alps forms a rampart separating it from central Europe. The area of Italy, including the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, is about 123,000 square miles, or somewhat larger than the total superficies of the British isles.

2. If we omit the islands, the country naturally divides itself into two parts, of nearly equal dimensions—continental Italy, forming the northern section; and the more peninsular portion in the south, which projects into the Mediterranean Sea to a distance of five hundred miles. The former constitutes a vast plain, watered by the Po and its tributary rivers, and is a region of extraordinary fertility, where, though the sky above is usually bright and serene, the eye is informed of the proximity of a colder climate by the glitter of the snowy peaks of the Alps in the distant horizon. Peninsular Italy differs in its physical character from the continental portion; nor are

all parts of it alike. Its principal feature, and that which determines the rest, is the mountain ridge of the Apennines, by which it is traversed from one end to the other. Commencing at the point where the Alps terminate, and where their elevation is least, these mountains proceed southwards, increasing in height till towards the middle of the peninsula, from which they again extend, gradually diminishing towards the extremity, where the narrow strait separating Italy from Sicily interrupts their continuation into that island. From the summits and the sides of this long ridge of hills numerous streams descend, some of which flow eastward into the Adriatic, anciently called The *Upper* Sea; but the greater number pursue a contrary direction, and fall into that portion of the Mediterranean which the ancients called The *Lower*, and sometimes also the Tyrrhenian or Tuscan Sea.

3. The two stripes of country into which the peninsula is thus divided by the Apennines vary considerably in their aspects. That on the east, bordering on the Adriatic, is wilder and more pastoral; the forests are larger, and the streams more rapid; the climate also is perceptibly colder than in corresponding portions of the opposite coast. The territory west of the Apennines, and adjoining the Tuscan Sea, is the finest in Italy. Evidently a volcanic region, and in some spots with the volcanic fires yet smouldering underneath, the larger part of this highly-favoured district is clothed with luxuriance and beauty. Wood and lake scenery which is nowhere excelled; villages picturesquely situated in the clefts of hills; valleys, water-courses, and occasional plains near the coast, in which, under cultivation, grow the vine, the olive, the orange, and, in the southern parts, such tropical plants as the Indian-fig and the date-palm; a broad expanse of blue sea meeting the eye on the west, and the purple outline of the Apennines on the east; a balmy atmosphere on the coast, which may be exchanged by a journey of a few hours for the breezes of the hills, and the lovely tints of a sky pure and soft—such are the peculiarities which have rendered Italy the favourite land of painters and poets. It was in this land, in a position which, though central, is by no means the choicest in

point of natural beauty, that Rome, the capital of the ancient world, arose.

4. Although fitted, by its isolation from the rest of Europe, to form a single nation, Italy has, from various causes, been generally broken up into a number of distinct governments. Such is the case at present; and such was the case in ancient times, before the increasing power of Rome gave her the supremacy over the peninsula. Indeed the name *Italy*, as applied to the entire country, is of comparatively recent origin. The demand for a general geographical designation did not arise until the course of events connected with Roman history had combined the various populations, and taught them to view the country as a whole. When this was the case, the term *Italia* obtained the preference. Originally applied merely to the extreme southern promontory which adjoins Sicily, this name was gradually extended northward; but it was not till the reign of Augustus that it received its full extension, and was applied to the whole region lying between the Alps and the Gulf of Tarentum.

5. In the earliest ages to which history can carry us back, we find the peninsula of Italy inhabited by two distinct races—the Pelasgians, inhabiting both lines of coast; and the Oscans or Opicans, living in the mountains of the interior. The Pelasgians were one of the most extensively spread people of ancient Europe, and performed an important part in the civilisation of the western world. Masters of almost all the coasts of southern Europe, from the Western Alps to the Black Sea; possessing many of the islands in the Ægean, and colonising parts of the western coast of Asia Minor, these Pelasgians seem to have laid the foundation of many of the states which afterwards attained to separate eminence in that portion of the world. At the time when they first come into notice, we find them in conflict with the Hellenes or Greeks, a people belonging radically to the same stock, but who had been developed by circumstances so as to present a peculiar and strongly-marked character. In this conflict the Greeks obtained the mastery; and thenceforward the ancient legends exhibit the Pelasgian races as everywhere on the decline. Troy

was a Pelasgic city; and the story of its fall, sung by Homer, is thought to be a legendary representation of the triumph of the Hellenic over the Pelasgian race. Long before this event, however, and while the Pelasgians still preserved the spirit of growth and conquest, they had forced their way into the Italian peninsula, driving the Oscans, the original inhabitants of the country, to the mountains for refuge.

6. About a thousand years before Christ, we are thus to imagine Italy divided between two distinct races—the Pelasgians, under a variety of subordinate names, such as Liburnians, Venetians, Daunians, Peucetians, Morgetes, Oenotrians, Siculians, and Tyrrhenians, forming a chain of population along both coasts of the peninsula; and the Oscans, under a similar variety of subordinate names, such as Umbrians, Sabines, Cascans or Priscans, and Ausonians or Opicans, forming another chain amidst the Apennines. The Pelasgic nations spoke a language radically the same as the Greek; the Oscan, one bearing no similarity to that tongue. Their character and habits, likewise, were dissimilar. The Pelasgians, already a race of some culture, became devoted to agriculture, built cities, and occupied themselves in the various arts of peace. To them is ascribed the building of those monuments, composed of enormous blocks of stone, which are now known under the name of Cyclopian Walls. The Oscans, on the other hand, appear to have borne the usual character of mountaineers, and to have been a fierce and hardy race, employed partly in the occupations of pastoral life, partly in war and pillage. Long afterwards, when the Romans began to have a literature, it was customary to use the word *Oscan* or *Opican* as synonymous with rude or barbarous.

7. Omitting the Ligurians, a people of uncertain origin, whose seat was the north-west corner of the peninsula adjoining the Gulf of Genoa, the most important people of ancient Italy, after the Pelasgians and Oscans, were the *Tuscans*, *Etruscans*, or *Etrurians*. The origin of this singular people is a question which neither historians nor philologists have been able to solve. On fragments of their architecture still remain inscriptions in the Etruscan lan-

guage; and these continue to be a mystery to the learned. Some suppose that the Etruscans came by sea from an eastern country, and forced a landing among the original tribes in the north-west of the peninsula; others, that their primitive seat was the Rhætian Alps, and that, bursting thence, they poured across the plain of the Po to the Mediterranean coast. Whichever opinion be the correct one, it is certain that, several centuries before the foundation of Rome, the Etruscans appeared as a conquering nation in the north of Italy. The tribes at whose expense they effected their settlement, and whom, to a certain degree, they incorporated with themselves, were the Ligurians; the Umbrians, one of the old Oscan nations of the interior; the Venetian Pelasgians, whose territories lay at the mouths of the Po; and the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, inhabiting the coast between the Apennines and the Tiber. Long before Rome existed, the Etruscans were the dominant people in Italy. Their dominions extended from the Po to the Tiber; they possessed a regular political constitution, and all those habits, both domestic and social, which indicate a high degree of civilisation.—Without some preliminary notion of the Etruscans, it would be impossible to have a proper understanding of the Roman people.

8. The appearance of the north of Italy after this early invasion must have been similar to that usually presented by a newly-conquered territory—a large subjugated population, governed and kept in check by numbers of the new settlers occupying the towns and other places of strength. The Etruscans, however, are said not to have abused their power over the conquered races. At length, when time had in some measure incorporated the Etruscans with the old population, the Etruscan territories in Italy appear to have naturally separated into two parts—Etruria, north of the Apennines; and Etruria Media or Etruria Proper, the country south of the Apennines, corresponding with modern Tuscany. In each of these portions the government was administered by twelve capital or sovereign cities, each of which was the centre of government to a definite extent of territory, including the minor towns and villages situated within it. Among the capital cities of northern Etruria

were Verona and Mantua. The twelve sovereign cities of Etruria Proper were Cære, Tarquinii, Vetulonium, Arretium, Perusia, Clusium, Rusellæ, Veii, Vulsinii, Volaterræ, Cortona, and Fesulæ. Some of these cities are still to be recognised under names similar to the ancient ones—as Arezzo for Arretium, Perugia for Perusia, Chiusi for Clusium; others have disappeared.

9. The twelve Etruscan cities were wholly independent of each other in the management of the affairs of their respective territories. In each there were two orders—the Patricians or Ruling Houses, and the Commonalty, who were little advanced above the condition of slaves. The entire power, civil and religious, was in the hands of the Patricians, or, as they may be called, Priest-nobles. The priest-nobles of every city annually elected one of their number to act as supreme magistrate, with the title of *Lucumo.* Sometimes, in cases of emergency, the Lucumo was re-elected: there were cases even of persons retaining the office during life; but all attempts of a single family to make the office hereditary in its own line were resisted. The entire civil procedure of the Etruscans, the mode of founding a city, of building the houses, of settling disputes, of declaring war, of arranging the army—all was regulated by a sacred code or ritual; and almost every act of public or private importance was preceded and accompanied by auguries and sacerdotal ceremonies. By this means the priest-nobles—who possessed both the wealth and the civil dignities of the state, and walked daily about among the people, clothed in their pontifical robes, handling the sacred fire, and interpreting the will of the gods—exercised a moral sway over the people, which bound them to order and obedience. Whatever discussion regarding civil affairs was necessary, took place only in the assembly of Ruling Houses.

10. For the conduct of affairs of common interest, the twelve cities of Etruria were associated in a league or mutual compact. The great festivals of the nation were presided over by a high priest chosen by the cities. In times of general emergency, assemblies of the princes or magistrates were held in the temple of Voltumna; and

when it became necessary to appoint a commander-in-chief to lead the national army, that office was conferred on one of the twelve Lucumos. The Etruscans were bound together by their common commercial interest. Establishing, by their wide extension throughout the north of Italy, a communication between the barbarian tribes north of the Alps, and the Adriatic and Tuscan Seas—possessing a land in itself rich in products, and advanced to that degree of civilisation which both demands foreign commodities, and furnishes the talent required to procure them—the Etruscans naturally became a great commercial people. They maintained a trade with all the countries accessible by the Mediterranean; their armed fleets and corsairs were the terror of the early Greek navigators; and treaties which they concluded with the Carthaginians, and other maritime powers of those ages, remained in force to a comparatively late period.

11. The Etruscans are represented as having been a people of short stature, with corpulent bodies, and large heads; and the Latin poets describe them as gluttonous, sensual, and fond of a sumptuous style in their banquets. Contrary to the usual custom among ancient nations, the women reclined at table along with the men. Festivals, pompous processions, and boisterous games were characteristic of the Tuscans; and from them the Romans borrowed many of their official forms, costumes, and badges. The national musical instrument of Etruria was the Lydian flute. No trace of verse or rhythm can be found in the Etruscan language, the characters of which, like those of the Phœnician, were written from right to left. Of the skill of the Etruscans in the arts, their remains—especially the celebrated Etruscan vases and bronze statues, and the fragments of their architecture—are sufficient evidences. The Etruscan vases are of two kinds—one of red, and sometimes of bluish-black clay, with figures in bas-relief; the other with the figures merely painted on the surface. The buildings of the Etruscans were low, wide, and heavy. Some believe the Etruscans to have been the inventors of the arch. In hydraulic works, and in the art of draining land, they surpassed all the ancient nations. The outlets

of the Po into the Adriatic were cut and shaped by them; the rich valley of the Arno, where Florence now stands, was a mere extent of lake and swamp till they drained it; and tunnels which they constructed for the purpose of drawing off the accumulated water from the craters of extinct volcanoes, are said to be yet effective, although they have never been cleaned out. Such undertakings were doubtless accomplished by the forced labour of multitudes of serfs, probably of Pelasgian and Umbrian descent.

12. The mythology of the Etruscans is of greater importance in its bearing on Roman history than almost any other point connected with them. A gloomy and meditative people, they professed a religion more sombre in its character than that of the warm and susceptible Greeks. Admitting the Greek gods, with Jupiter at their head, they were possessed with an overpowering belief in fate, in the liability of all things to flux and change. Men, nations, the world, the very gods themselves, have, they said, their appointed cycle, their appointed period of existence. The duration of the present universe and the present race of gods, was measured, they said, by a secular or great year—a period equal to 334,400 common years. In a secular year there were thirty-eight secular weeks; and one of these weeks, or 8800 of our years, is the duration of the earth. Farther, this secular week allotted to the earth was divisible into eight secular days of 1100 years each; and each of these days was the duration of some great power or dynasty. The expiry of each was accompanied by wonderful signs in the heavens and on the earth—such as earthquakes, meteors, and thunder-storms; and on observing these signs, it became evident to those who had made such matters their study, that the world was undergoing one of its changes, that old habits and modes of belief were going out, and a new race of men coming in. Again, even within each period of 1100 years, there were subordinate revolutions and changes, also marked by prodigies and signs.

13. The fortunes of nations and individuals being determined by astronomical cycles, it followed that the only real prudence in human affairs consisted in the power of

discerning the signs of the times—in other words, of soothsaying. Accordingly, Etruria was the native land of augury and divination. This art, taught first, according to the Etruscan legend, by a mysterious dwarf-god named Tages, who rose out of the earth in a field near Tarquinii, was developed into a complex system, the knowledge of which could only be acquired by long study of the books in which it was written. It consisted of three branches—the interpretation of the stars, that of the entrails and the flight of birds, and that of lightning. The interpretation of lightning, however, was the peculiar province of the Etruscan aruspices. Besides, therefore, the constant influence of a daily ritual of solemn and gloomy ceremonies, the priest-nobles of Etruria exercised over the people their power as diviners of the future. When, shrieking round the altar with hair dishevelled, and holding flaming torches in their hands, the soothsayers (themselves inspired with belief in their own powers) pointed to the black sky, or to the lightnings which played about the hill-top, as signs of what the gods meant to do to Etruria, the people trembled; and when the means of averting the evil were announced, they were eager to obey.

14. The formation in Italy of so powerful a dominion as that of the Etruscans, could not take place without causing a tremor throughout the other tribes of the peninsula. The Umbrians, once set in motion, communicated the agitation to the other Oscan races inhabiting the Apennines —the Sabines, the Cascans or Priscans, and the Ausonians or Opicans. The consequence ultimately was a general descent of the Oscan races from the mountains upon the Pelasgians of the coast, and the formation thereby of a number of Pelasgo-Oscan states on both sides of the Apennines from Etruria to the Gulf of Tarentum.

15. Among the Pelasgo-Oscan states formed by the descent of the Oscan races upon the Pelasgians of the coast, one of the earliest was Latium, the kingdom of the Latins. This state was formed by the descent of the Cascans or Aborigines, an old Oscan race—whose original seat was Mount Velino—upon the Pelasgic Sicelians, inhabiting the maritime district south of the Anio. It is difficult to

describe precisely the effects which must have resulted from the intermixture of the rude Oscan mountaineers with the softer and more refined Pelasgians of the Latin coast; but one enduring monument of the intermixture, such as it was, remains in the Latin language. This language, the speech of the Roman people, is composed of two elements, which can be easily distinguished—a Greek element, and one which is not Greek. The element of the Latin language which is common to it with the Greek, is clearly the Pelasgic one derived from the people whom the Cascans subdued, and who belonged, as has been already said, to the Great Pelasgic stock, from which the Greeks or Hellens were but an offshoot. The other element, which bears no resemblance to the Greek, is the Oscan, contributed by the conquering people. To the Pelasgic constituent belong the Latin words for house, field, plough, wine, oil, milk, ox, sow, sheep, which are identical with the Greek; the Latin words, on the other hand, for war, arms, a spear, a sword, a bow, an arrow, and such-like, are pure Oscan, indicating that this was the speech of the conquerors.

16. Connected with the origin of the Latin people, is the interesting story of the settlement of a Trojan colony in this part of Italy. When Troy, says the legend, was about to fall into the hands of the victorious Greeks, the Trojan chief Æneas, the son of Anchises by the goddess Venus, fled from the doomed city, carrying with him his gods, his aged father, and his little son Iulus, and accompanied by a number of his friends. The god Mercury built for them a ship, and they were directed to sail towards the west. At length, after long wanderings, they reached the Latin coast. Here, when they were about to sacrifice to the gods, the victim, a pregnant white sow, escaped, and ran into the country. At length she lay down on a hill about three miles from the coast, and there littered thirty young ones. Assured by the oracle that this was the spot where the gods intended he should build a city, Æneas, notwithstanding that the coast was barren and sandy, obeyed. It was promised, however, that when the thirty years, signified by the thirty young ones which the sow had produced, should have elapsed, his descendants would remove to a better place.

The people of the country, and their king, Latinus, received the Trojans kindly, and gave them land on which to build their city. Soon, however, disputes arose; and Latinus, assisted by Turnus, king of the Rutulians, made war upon the strangers. The strangers conquered; Latinus was killed; and Æneas, marrying Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, became king of the whole country, the inhabitants of which were now named Latins. Not long afterwards, Turnus, king of the Rutulians, with the help of Mezentius, king of Cære, one of the twelve Etruscan cities, made war on Æneas. A battle took place on the banks of the river Numicius; Turnus was killed; but after the battle, Æneas was seen no more. He had plunged into the stream; and the gods, relieving the hero from his toils, had taken him up to heaven alive, to make him one of themselves. When the thirty years signified by the gods had elapsed, Iulus or Ascanius, the son of Æneas, removed from the city which his father had built, and founded a new one on the declivity of a high hill twenty-five miles from the coast, from the summit of which the whole land could be seen, and even, across the blue sea, the distant outline of Corsica. The city, which ran down the steep of the hill in one long street towards a lake, was called *Alba Longa*, or 'The White Long City;' and continued for three hundred years to be the capital of Latium.

17. Such is the legend of the Trojan colony in Latium, invented in accordance with the ancient mode of thinking, which delighted in tracing up the pedigree of every great people to some hero or demigod. What pedigree could be more worthy of the Roman nation than that which derived them from a chief of the old Pelasgic city of Troy? What fiction could be more beautiful or stirring than that which represented the ancient capital of Priam, laid in ashes by the Greeks, and erased from the earth, surviving in the person of Æneas, one of her exiled sons, and rising again, after many centuries, to dethrone the Greeks from their supremacy, and, under a new name, once more be mistress of the world? It is possible, indeed, that the legend may rest on some historic foundation, but we have no means of proving this to be the case.

18. The most celebrated of the Oscan nations in Italy was the Sabines or Sabellians, whose seat before the Tuscan irruption had been the neighbourhood of Mount Amiternum, immediately north of the Cascans, but who had been forced by that event to descend into the triangular portion of territory lying between the Tiber and the Anio. Here they increased so fast, that they were obliged to send out, periodically, bands of their young men to found colonies in the surrounding country. One of these bands, led, according to the legend, by a woodpecker, sent by Mamers or Mars, the favourite god of the Sabines, to guide them, invaded that portion of the Adriatic coast inhabited by the Liburnian Pelasgians, and founded the nation of the Picenians; another descended into the territory of the Ausonians or Opicans, and founded the nation of the Samnites; and in a similar manner, at considerable intervals of time, were founded the several nations of the Marsians, the Marrucinians, the Pelignians, the Vestinians, the Hernicans, &c. Of all these Sabellian colonies, the Samnites were the most powerful and warlike. Under the names of Campanians, Frentanians, and Lucanians, they soon overran the south of Italy. One characteristic distinguished all the Sabellian nations—a strong religious spirit, manifested especially in faith in omens and divinations. Of all the Sabellian tribes, the Marsians excelled in augury, particularly in the interpretation of the flight of birds; but in piety, rectitude, and patriarchal simplicity of manners, none of the colonies equalled the genuine Sabines inhabiting the parent territory between the Tiber and the Anio.

19. It remains only to be mentioned, that about seven or eight centuries before Christ, the Greeks, who had long held a commercial intercourse with the peninsula, began to plant colonies in the southern portion of it. Cuma, on the coast of Campania, was perhaps their only settlement much older than Rome; the other Greek towns in Italy, such as Neapolis, Rhegium, Locri, Tarentum, Sybaris, Croton, Posidonia, Laos, Metapontum, Elea, and Thurii, appear to have all been of later date. So great was the influx of Greeks into the southern part of Italy during the first three or four centuries of Rome, that the name of

Magna Græcia, or Great Greece, was given to that extremity of the peninsula. A consequence of this extensive colonisation was, that while Rome was yet in her infancy, Greek civilisation was slowly diffusing itself northwards through Italy.

20. Of the nations which have been named, three in succession predominated in the peninsula—the Etruscans, the Sabellians, and the Romans. The growth of the last of these; the means by which they succeeded in the great attempt in which the other two had failed, of uniting the whole peninsula under a common rule and a common name, and the manner in which, after being lords of the peninsula, they extended their influence to a vast circle of countries beyond it, will now engage attention.

PERIOD OF THE KINGS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY, B.C. 754.

21. The spot destined to become the most remarkable in Italy was that where the two streams, the Tiber and the Anio, after flowing from the Apennines, unite their waters, at a distance of about fifteen miles from the sea. At this spot the frontiers of three of the most celebrated nations of ancient Italy were contiguous. North of the Tiber was Etruria; south of the Anio was Latium; the angular territory between the two rivers was the country of the Sabines. The country around was a table-land, not flat, but undulating, so as to present a succession of knolls and hollows. This table-land, the general height of which is about two hundred feet above the level of the sea, extends from the foot of the Apennines to within a few miles of the coast, where it slopes rapidly into a low marshy tract bordering the beach. Winding through the last fifteen miles of this level tract flows the Tiber, after its junction with the Anio. The immediate bed of the river is of course much lower than the surface of the country, the highest points of which are the hillocks or rocky prominences which front each other across the stream. At the present day, the bare and desolate aspect of the district in the vicinity of Rome strikes all travellers; but in very ancient times, it was diversified by numberless small farms or homesteads under diligent cultivation.

22. The legend of the foundation of Rome is as follows: —Alba Longa, the capital of Latium, had for three hundred years been ruled over by the Silvii, a line of kings descended from Æneas Silvius, the son of Æneas and Lavinia, who had succeeded his half-brother Iulus on the

throne. Procas, one of these Silvian kings, died, leaving two sons, Numitor and Amulius. Amulius, although the younger, usurped the kingdom, and, in order to preserve it for his own family, put to death the only son of his brother Numitor, and compelled his daughter Silvia to become one of the priestesses of the goddess Vesta, to whom marriage was unlawful. But the god Mars loved Silvia, and she became the mother of twin sons. By the order of Amulius, the babes were thrown into the Tiber. But the river being then flooded with the rains, the cradle or basket in which they were laid was carried down to the foot of the Palatine Hill, where, drifting into shallow water, it was upset against the roots of a wild fig-tree. A she-wolf, the animal sacred to the god Mars, coming at that moment to the river to drink, carried the babes to her den, where she suckled them for many weeks. At length Faustulus, the king's shepherd, who lived near by on the Palatine Hill, found the infants in the she-wolf's den, and took them home to his wife, Acca Larentia, who became their nurse, and brought them up with her own sons. The boys, who were called Romulus and Remus, grew apace on their hardy fare: when they were lads, they built straw-huts for themselves on the hill; and, excelling all the shepherd youths of the neighbourhood in strength and spirit, they became the captains of their boisterous sports, and led them against the robbers who stole their flocks. A quarrel with the herdsmen of the neighbouring hill, called the Aventine, the cattle upon which belonged to Numitor, led to the discovery of their birth; upon which, with the assistance of their shepherd comrades, they slew the usurper Amulius, and reinstated their grandfather, Numitor, on the throne of Alba. But the youths still loved their old home on the banks of the Tiber; and there they resolved to build a city. Romulus wished the city to be built on the Palatine Hill, but Remus preferred another spot; and to decide which site should be chosen, as well as after which of the brothers the new city should be called, recourse was had to augury. The two brothers took their station at midnight to watch the appearance of birds. At length at sunrise, on the second day, Remus saw six vultures; but just as

the messengers were announcing to Romulus his brother's success, lo! twelve vultures flew overhead. The party of Romulus was stronger among the shepherds, and it was decided that the omen was in his favour. Romulus, therefore, yoked a bullock and a heifer to a plough with a copper share, and described a line or furrow round the base of the Palatine Hill, to form the *pomœrium* or boundary of the new city. Along this line he began to make a rampart and ditch. Remus, still smarting under the wrong which he conceived had been done him, leaped over the rampart in contempt; upon which he was slain by a blow from Celer, the man who had charge of the work. Romulus instituted a festival in honour of his brother; and when the city was built, an empty throne was placed by the side of his own, in token that Remus, although dead, was still held in remembrance.

23. The name of the new city was Roma. Its first citizens were the shepherds among whom Romulus and Remus had grown up. Romulus, however, made all welcome—exiles, runaway slaves, and fugitive criminals; all who had no home to go to, found an asylum in Roma. Thus the city became full of men; but there was not a sufficient number of women, and the inhabitants of the country round would not give their daughters in marriage to such savage people. At length Romulus bethought himself of a plan by which they might procure wives. He gave a great festival, to which he invited his neighbours, the Latins and the Sabines. Curiosity to see the games which were announced drew great numbers of them to Rome; and when, suspecting no evil, they were intently looking at the sports, a band of Roman youths rushed in amongst them, and carried off the most beautiful of their women, in spite of their cries and the struggles of their fathers.

24. Immediately the people of the Latin city of Cænina made war upon the Romans, to revenge the wrong which had been done them; but Romulus, with his little army, was able to defeat them, and slay their king. Crustumerium and Antemna shared the same fate. But when an army of the Sabines, under their king, Titus Tatius, advanced against Rome, and, by the treachery of a maiden

called Tarpeia, gained possession of a fortress which Romulus had appointed her father to command on the Saturnian or Capitoline Hill, the spirit of the Romans began to fail. They went out to meet the Sabines in the valley between the two hills; the Sabines were prevailing, and were pursuing the Romans to their gate, when the Sabine women who had been carried off, and who were watching the combat from the Palatine Hill, ran down, and throwing themselves between the two armies, and clinging to the men who were fighting, implored them to desist. 'Ye are our fathers,' they said to the Sabines; 'but these,' pointing to the Romans, 'are now our husbands, the fathers of our babes; let there no longer be strife between you.' Upon this the battle ceased; and the Romans and the Sabines made a treaty with each other, by which they became united into one nation. The Romans, governed by their king, Romulus, continued to dwell in the little city Roma, on the Palatine Hill; while the Sabines, governed by Tatius, lived on the two hills Saturnius and Quirinalis, and called themselves *Quirites*, from the name of the Sabine town Quirium, which stood on the Quirinal Hill before Rome was built. In the valley between the Palatine and the Saturnian Hills, the two kings and their counsellors used to meet; hence this valley was named *Comitium*, or the *Meeting-place*.

25. Not long afterwards, Tatius was killed by a neighbouring people, and Romulus became ruler over both nations. He divided the whole people into three tribes—the Ramnenses, called after himself; the Titienses, called after the deceased Sabine king, Tatius; and the Luceres, called after Lucumo, an Etruscan chief, who had come to assist the Romans against the Sabines, and who lived with his people on the hill Cælius. Each tribe he further divided into ten *curiæ*, so that the whole people consisted of thirty curiæ. To administer the affairs of the city, Romulus formed a senate or council, consisting of two hundred men, who were sage and experienced—the elders of the people. Many laws were framed by Romulus for the good of the people, so that they increased and were prosperous.

26. Such is the mythical history of the foundation of Rome; that is, the history which the people of later ages formed out of their own fancy, after all accurate knowledge of the real circumstances had been lost. The following was probably the true origin of the Roman nation.

27. The undulating table-country about the junction of the Anio and the Tiber seems, as was formerly said, to have been thickly inhabited in ancient times. On the Palatine Hill stood a little Latin village called Roma; not far off was another Latin village called Remuria; on the Cælian Hill, close by, stood another named Lucerum, which seems to have been dependent on the Etruscans; and on the Quirinal, separated only by a valley from the Palatine, stood Quirium, which belonged to the Sabines. Round this circlet of villages were others at greater or less distances: those towards the north-east being Sabine; those towards the south and east, Latin; and those on the other side of the Tiber, Tuscan. In order that the nucleus of a small state might be formed out of this cluster of villages, nothing more was necessary than that one of them should obtain a preponderance over the others. Circumstances gave the preponderance to Roma. The first village to yield to its growing power was the neighbouring one of Remuria; and the recollection of this amalgamation of Roma with Remuria was afterwards perpetuated by the story of the twin founders of the city, Romulus and Remus. Next the little village of Lucerum was absorbed; and if, as is supposed, this village had been under Etruscan control, the original Latin or Pelasgo-Oscan population of Rome would, in consequence, receive an Etruscan admixture. The Roman people they formed consisted of two parts or tribes—the *Ramnes*, or original Romans; and the *Luceres*, or people of Lucerum. The Ramnes retained the chief power of the state in their own hands, the affairs of the community being managed by senators chosen from their own number; the Luceres, although free, were subordinate.

28. Rome being a frontier city of Latium, and at a considerable distance from its capital Alba, could not fail to

be often involved in hostilities with the Sabine city of Quirium, situated on the opposite hill. At length, by some such course of events as that shadowed forth by the legend, the two communities came to an understanding, and agreed that, still preserving their distinct governments, and inhabiting their respective hills, they should form a conjunct nation. In token of this alliance, the Janus, a temple with double doors, was built in the valley between the hills. The doors being open in time of war, permitted the two communities to assist each other in case of an attack from without; but being shut in time of peace, kept them separate.

29. In process of time, the union between Roma and Quirium was perfected; and the two communities, coalescing into one population, agreed to live under one king and one set of institutions. To this conjunct people the name of Romans began to be applied; but on all solemn public occasions the memory of the compound origin of the state continued to be kept up by the use of the phrase *Populus Romanus et Quirites*; that is, 'The Roman People, and the People of Quirium.' As Quirium was a Sabine town, and the Sabines were an Oscan race, the effect of the mixture of the Quirites with the Etrusco-Pelasgo-Oscan inhabitants of Rome was to add strength to the Oscan ingredient of the state.

30. The founder of the Roman constitution availed himself of the natural division of the people which already existed, into the three tribes of the Ramnes, or primitive Romans; the Tities, or newly-incorporated Sabines; and the Luceres, who had previously been attached to the Ramnes. Each of these tribes he divided into ten *curiæ*; and each curia he subdivided into ten *Gentes*, or Houses. The entire body of the citizens, therefore, consisted of thirty curiæ, or three hundred gentes. The gens, or house, was a peculiar institution, of which it is necessary to have a clear notion, because the entire fabric of Roman society rested upon it. Originally, it was a mere knot of families related to each other by blood, and having a common name. By degrees, however, the bond which united a number of families into a gens, ceased to be that of consanguinity, and a gens came

to signify a number of families connected together by the obligation of performing certain religious ceremonies in common, as well as by the enjoyment of certain legal advantages resulting from the union—as, for instance, the right of the whole gens to succeed to the property of any member of it who should die intestate and without heirs. Every gens had its distinctive name, either invented after the name of some legendary hero, or derived from some real person. The celebrated Fabian gens, the members of which were called Fabii, was a knot of families bound to offer periodical sacrifices to Hercules; the Nautian gens, whose members were called Nautii, owed similar observances to Minerva; and so with the other houses. As the number of families in a gens was not fixed, some gentes were of course more numerous and powerful than others. Each gens had its own head or chief, who officiated as priest at its religious ceremonies, and also as alderman or president at the meetings held by the members of the gens for business.

31. In the original Roman state, composed, as we have described, of three hundred little communities associated together, the government was vested in the *rex*, or king; the *senatus*, or senate; and the *populus*, or people. In this respect the Roman is a type of almost all the primitive governments of ancient Europe.

32. The power of the rex, or king, was by no means absolute. He was merely the elective chief magistrate of the nation, charged with the duty of executing the laws and administering justice. In the field, his authority was supreme; and over all strangers and foreign settlers in the city he exercised unlimited jurisdiction; but his share in the legislature consisted merely in the right of summoning the senate and the people, and laying measures before them. He was also the chief priest for the whole nation, and officiated in that capacity at all great public sacrifices.

33. The senatus, or senate, consisted of two hundred persons of mature age, elected for life, one-half representing the hundred houses of the Ramnes; the other half the hundred Sabine houses. The Luceres, as having been previously subject to the Ramnes, were not represented in

the senate; in consequence of which, and their general inferiority otherwise, the houses of this tribe were designated the *Gentes Minores*, or Lesser Houses; while those of the Ramnes and Tities were styled the *Gentes Majores*, or Greater Houses. The two hundred senators being arranged in twenty decuries, corresponding to the twenty curies of the two tribes, ten of their number, selected one from each of the ten decuries of the Ramnes, were distinguished by the title of the *Decem Primi*, or Ten Foremost. When the king died, these decem primi were to act as a sovereign board until the election of his successor, each of the ten assuming in turn the dignity of *Interrex*, or interim-king, and retaining it for five days. The decem primi also enjoyed the distinction of voting first; and one of the number acted as convener and president of the senate, and as prefect of the city when the king was absent in the field. The meetings of the senate, of which there were at least three every month, were held in a temple consecrated for the purpose, and were opened with religious formalities. The king or president announced the business; a discussion then took place, at the conclusion of which the question was decided by a majority of the votes of those present.

34. Before a resolution of the senate became law, it had to receive the sanction of the populus, or people; that is, of the whole assembled nation—Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres. This assembly of the whole people was called the *Comitia Curiata*, because the votes were taken not by individuals or gentes, but by curies. Although no new law or measure could originate in the Comitia Curiata, a majority of the thirty curies there assembled might reject a law which had passed the senate. An appeal was likewise open to the people assembled in their curies against any sentence pronounced on a citizen by the king or his judges. It is necessary, however, to acquire from the beginning a distinct conception of the fact that, among the early Romans, the populus, or people, and the patres, or patricians, were the same. The members of the three hundred original houses were the citizens, the burghers, the people of early Rome; and when, in the process of time, additional masses of population gathered round them, the former became, rela-

tively to these, an aristocracy or ruling class. At first almost every inhabitant of the Roman territory must have been a citizen—that is, must have belonged to a gens.

35. Assembled in the field, the whole army of citizens was under the command of the king. Each tribe was commanded by its tribunus, or tribune; every curia by its curion, or centurion; and every decuria, or tenth part of a curia, by its decurion. The mass of the people fought on foot; but the decurions, appearing on horseback, formed a body of equites, or cavalry.

36. To recapitulate:—Three villages on the left bank of the Tiber—one Latin, another Sabine, and the third Etruscan, or Etrusco-Latin—coalesced so as to form a township of some consequence. In this combination the Latins imparted the political spirit and maxims, the Sabines the fresh vitality and the simple faith, and the Etruscans the military forms, with some of their peculiar religious views, and a tinge of their moral gloom. The precise proportions in which the three races coalesced it is impossible to fix, although, from the circumstance that the Latin or Pelasgo-Oscan language became the national one, it may be inferred that the Latin and Sabine elements predominated. Neither is it possible to fix precisely the period at which the union took place. General opinion, however, has assigned the foundation of the original city of Romulus on the Palatine Hill to the year 754 before Christ.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGNS OF THE KINGS, B.C. 754–509.—Y. R. 1–245.

37. Romulus, according to the Roman legends, reigned thirty-seven years, enriching his people by the spoils which he took in war from the surrounding nations, and greatly beloved by them on account of his many virtues. At length, when the time appointed by the gods for his stay

on earth had elapsed, the whole people happened to be assembled one day in the Field of Mars, near the Goat's Pool. Suddenly the heavens became dark, as if midnight were approaching; the rain fell in torrents; and, amid incessant peals of thunder, awful lightnings darted through the air. The people, alarmed, fled to their homes. When the tempest was over, they returned and sought for their king; but he was nowhere to be found. As the Senator Proculus Julius was returning in the moonlight from Alba to Rome, Romulus appeared to him, and told him that he had been taken to heaven by his father Mars, and that he wished the citizens no longer to mourn for him, but to cherish his memory as their guardian deity. The Romans, therefore, from that day, worshipped Romulus as the god Quirinus.

38. For a whole year after the removal of Romulus from the earth, the ten highest senators governed the people in rotation, ruling five days each. At length, when the people murmured, and demanded a king, it was agreed that, as the last king had been a Roman, the new one should be a Sabine, chosen, however, not by the Sabines themselves, but by the Romans. Accordingly, the Romans elected Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, held in great repute for his wisdom and piety. As Romulus had taught the people war, so the good and wise Numa, assisted by the divine nymph Egeria, who loved him, and held secret interviews with him in her sacred grove, taught them the gentler arts of peace, the duties of citizenship, and the proper mode of worshipping the gods. He appointed many new ministers of religion; especially the four pontiffs, who were to be supreme judges in all sacred matters; the four Augurs, who were to interpret the will of the gods with regard to the state; the three Flamens, who were to officiate in the chief temples; and the four Vestal Virgins, who were to tend the perpetual fire of the goddess Vesta. He forbade the offering of costly or bloody sacrifices, teaching that the offerings most suitable for the purposes of piety were milk, corn, and the simple fruits of the earth. He also forbade the erection of any images or statues of the gods. He likewise encouraged husbandry, set up sacred landmarks to every man's property, as well as to the property of the whole state. The strangers

who had attached themselves to the community, he separated into two classes—the agriculturists for the country, and the artificers for the town; assigning the former the fields which they should cultivate, and arranging the latter in nine companies or trades with fixed privileges. At length, after a reign of forty-three years, undisturbed by a single war, King Numa died at the age of fourscore; and the sacred books of the law, which he had compiled, were buried in his grave.

39. The next king was a Roman, Tullus Hostilius, valiant and fond of war like Romulus. Not long after his accession, a war broke out between the Romans and the people of the mother city Alba, who were now governed by a dictator. Tullus invaded the Alban territory, which he was ravaging, when Metius Suffetius, the dictator, came to oppose him with an army. As the two armies were drawn up, fronting each other in battle array, it was agreed that a certain number of combatants should be selected from each, to fight instead of the whole, and so decide the quarrel between the two nations. It so happened that in the Roman army there were three brothers born at a birth, called the Horatii, all strong and handsome young men; while in the Alban army there were likewise three such brothers of tried valour, named the Curiatii. These six were selected to be the combatants, because the gods, in the chance of their birth, seemed so to have appointed it. The brothers, therefore, stepped forth to fight between the two armies. Soon one of the Horatii was struck down, then another, so that only one Horatius remained to sustain the combat with the three Curiatii. They, however, were all three wounded; while he was unhurt. But lo! turning towards his countrymen, the unwounded Horatius fled, the three Curiatii pursuing. Great was the consternation of the Romans when they beheld the apparent cowardice of their champion. On a sudden, turning round, the Horatius stopped and faced his enemies, who were now at different distances from him; the least wounded nearest. Him he killed as soon as he came up; the second could offer little resistance; and the third, sorely wounded already, hardly required a blow. Upon this the Albans, according to their

agreement, submitted to the Romans, and the Roman army returned home in triumph, with the victorious Horatius at their head. As they approached the city gate, the women came out to meet them, and among them the sister of Horatius, who had been beloved by one of the Curiatii. When she saw her brother, and the coat of her lover, which she had made with her own hands, upon his shoulder, the maiden grew pale, and wept, and cried out in the midst of the soldiers, reproaching her brother. At this Horatius was angry, and drawing his sword, he stabbed his sister to the heart, crying, 'Thus die every Roman girl who shall weep for an enemy of her country.' All the people were aghast at the horrible deed; they seized Horatius, and brought him before the two men whose office it was to give judgment on the shedder of blood. By them he was found guilty, and adjudged to die the death of a murderer; that is, to be scourged, and afterwards hanged on the tree of doom. But as the lictor was tying his hands, he appealed to the people, and they remitted his sentence. From that day the Horatii of Rome offered periodical sacrifices to atone for the crime of their ancestor.

40. Soon after the treaty between the Albans and the Romans, the people of the Sabine city of Fidenæ, on the other side of the Anio, assisted by the people of Veii, one of the twelve sovereign cities of the Etruscans, made war upon Rome. Tullus, summoning the Albans under their dictator Metius Suffetius to his help, crossed the Anio to fight the joint forces of the two cities. In the battle, the Alban leader proved a traitor, and drew off his forces. Tullus, nevertheless, won the battle; and next day he revenged himself on his faithless ally, by causing him to be torn asunder between two chariots. Nor did the Alban people go unpunished. By the order of Tullus, their ancient town among the hills was destroyed; and men, women, and children, came with their cattle and furniture, to take up their residence in Rome, where the Cælian Mount, close by the Palatine, was assigned them for a dwelling-place. Such was the end of Alba Longa.

41. Tullus next made war upon the Sabines; but when the contest was over, he felt the spirit of the warrior die

within him, and it became his desire to imitate Numa in his care of the people, and his reverence for the gods. He therefore made himself the friend of the poor; gave lands to those who had none; and went to reside on the Cælian Hill, where the Luceres, the Albans, and many of the new settlers had their houses. But the piety of Tullus came too late; the gods were displeased, and would have none of his repentance. There fell a shower of stones on the Alban Mount, and a dreadful pestilence broke out among the people. Himself sick and weak, the aged king became fretful as a child, and went about listening eagerly to the augurs, and imploring the silent gods. At length he remembered those sacred rites by which, if performed according to the instructions of Numa, the god Jupiter Elicius would be compelled to answer; but, erring in the daring service, he was struck dead by a thunderbolt, and his palace, with all that were in it, was consumed by lightnings. Such, according to the legend, was the end of Tullus Hostilius, after a reign of thirty-two years.

42. The fourth king of Rome was Ancus Martius, a Sabine, and the grandson of Numa. Although, like his grandfather, of a pious and peaceful disposition, he did not shrink from defending the rights of Rome when he conceived them to be infringed. He was, accordingly, soon involved in a war with the Latins, over whose cities the Romans considered that they had acquired a certain claim of sovereignty, in consequence of their conquest of Alba, the ancient capital of Latium. Politorium, Tellenæ, Ficana, and other cities of the Latins having been taken, their inhabitants were removed to Rome, and incorporated with the Roman population. The supremacy of the Romans over Latium was soon afterwards decided by a great victory over the confederate Latin forces near Medullia. The country on the left bank of the Tiber, from the Anio to the sea, having been thus reduced to submission, Ancus obtained for Rome a footing on the other bank by wresting from the Etruscans of Veii that portion of their territory on the Tiber which lay opposite the Aventine, the Palatine, and the Capitoline Hills. To secure this valuable acquisition to the city-lands, he built a fortress on the Janiculan

Mount, and threw a wooden bridge across the river at the most convenient spot between that mount and the Aventine.

43. The labours of peace in which Ancus engaged were numerous. In the low land between the Palatine and the Cælian Hills, he caused a deep ditch to be dug, which both drained the soil, and formed a defence for the city on the Latin side. At the foot of the Capitoline Hill he built a prison to receive the criminals. At the mouth of the Tiber, on the Latin side, he founded the seaport of Ostia, to serve as a harbour for ships trading with Rome. But what made him most popular with the Romans was, that he distributed among them the lands which he had taken from the Latins, and gave up to the public the marshes and forests between Rome and Ostia. Finally, in order that all the citizens might be aware of the religious duties, upon their punctuality in which the prosperity of the state depended, he caused the regulations of Numa to be painted on white boards, and hung up in the market-place.

44. After a reign of twenty-four years, King Ancus died; and the senators elected as his successor neither a Sabine nor a Roman, but an Etruscan stranger, who had for some years resided in Rome under the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. The father of this man was a Greek of Corinth, who had emigrated to Etruria, where he found a welcome and a home in the city of Tarquinii. Of two sons whom he left by an Etruscan wife, Lucius was the younger. Finding that, on account of his being the son of a foreigner, he was not treated according to his merits in Tarquinii, Lucius, with his wife Tanaquil, who was an Etruscan lady, and well skilled in augury, resolved to remove to Rome. When, proceeds the legend, the chariot in which they sat reached the top of the Janiculan Mount, from which they could see Rome across the river, a lordly eagle, which had been hovering above them, came swiftly down, took off the cap of Lucius, bore it aloft in his beak, and at length descending, replaced it on his head. 'An omen!—an omen!' cried Tanaquil: 'thou shalt be the greatest man in Rome.' And so it proved, for the abilities of the Etruscan stranger, his wealth, and his agreeable

manners, gained him distinction and popularity; and when Ancus died, he left him guardian of his two young sons.

45. One of the first acts of the Etruscan king of Rome was to increase the number of the senators to three hundred, by the admission of a hundred new members to represent the hitherto inferior tribe of the Luceres. To complete the equality between this tribe and the Ramnes and Tities, he likewise increased the number of the pontiffs, the augurs, and the vestals, from four to six. After this change in the civil constitution, Tarquinius was engaged in three successive wars: first, with the Latins, whose rich cities of Apiolæ and Corniculum he destroyed; afterwards with the Sabines, who had crossed the Anio, and were advancing towards Rome when Tarquinius was able, by setting fire to the wooden bridge behind them by means of floating combustibles, to cut off their retreat, and defeat them; and lastly, with his countrymen the Etruscans, whose whole dominions, says the legend, he reduced to a species of dependence on Rome.

46. The second of these wars, that with the Sabines, was the cause, according to the legendary histories, of an attempt on the part of Tarquinius to make a still greater innovation upon the Roman constitution than was involved in the elevation of the depressed Luceres to the full patrician dignity.—Before introducing this part of the story, it is necessary to cast a retrospective glance upon the progress of the city, as we are able to conceive it during the period of about a hundred and thirty years, which is supposed to have elapsed between the incorporation of the Romans and Sabines under Romulus, and the admission of the Luceres into the senate under Tarquinius Priscus.

47. From the intimations which have been made in the present chapter, as well as from the supernatural, or at least the poetical nature of some of the incidents there narrated, the student will be aware that what he has been perusing is by no means an authentic account of what actually happened among the Romans in those early ages. It is not a real, but only a legendary history; that is, the history which the people of Rome in subsequent times drew out of the old ballads and songs which came down to them from

their ancestors, and which were no more to be depended on as true, than are the English stories about Robin Hood. There are doubtless some matters of historical truth in the legendary narrative; but to separate these from the mass of fiction is beyond human power. That Rome had an able and brave founder, is quite probable; but that his name was Romulus, is a mere fiction: that a system of laws was early developed in the Roman community, is sufficiently likely; but whether it proceeded from one man, and whether his name was Numa, no one can tell: that the people of Alba were removed to Rome, and incorporated with the Roman population, is almost certain; but whether this was done by Tullus Hostilius, or whether it resulted from a conquest of the Albans by the Romans, we have no means of knowing: and that the Romans, involving themselves in wars with the Latins, the Sabines, and the Etruscans, gradually extended their power and their possessions on both sides of the Tiber, cannot be doubted; but by what precise course of contests and victories this extension was accomplished, is not now to be ascertained. Lastly, that there was a marked Etruscan epoch in the early history of Rome, a time when Etruscan influence was strongly and directly exerted within the city, and possibly by an Etruscan sovereign, is generally admitted; but whether this Etruscan sovereign was Tarquinius Priscus, or whether it was in so peaceful a way as that of mere election to the vacant throne, and not rather by Tuscan invasion and conquest that Tuscan influence came to be exerted within the city, are points regarding which much doubt exists.

48. In order to conceive the state of the Roman community at the time when Tarquinius Priscus made his attempt to change the constitution, it is necessary to imagine the manner in which additional inhabitants gradually congregated round the little kernel of three hundred houses, the members of which, together with the few slaves they may have possessed, constituted at first the entire population. The first addition to this original population consisted of strangers and refugees, who came to reside in Rome. Not belonging to a gens—and therefore liable to all the inconveniences of an outlaw—the only way

by which a stranger could render his residence in Rome endurable, was to attach himself to some influential citizen who was willing to protect him. Such was the method actually adopted; hence arose in the city a class of persons called *Clientes*—that is, clients or dependents. The citizen who protected a client was called his *Patronus*, or patron. As was natural, the wealthiest and most powerful citizens came to have the greatest number of clients depending on them. The duties of a patron to his client were to act as his adviser in all cases of emergency; to prosecute those who injured him; and to defend him in court. In return, the client, like the feudal retainer of the middle ages, became bound to assist his patron on all just occasions, and especially in discharging any sudden expense—the payment, for instance, of his daughter's marriage-portion, or of his own ransom when taken prisoner. So sacred was the relationship between patron and client, that for a Roman to fail in his duties to his client was accounted disgraceful; and the law, to mark its sense of the binding nature of the connection, did not allow either party to appear against the other in court. Many clients were the liberated slaves of their patrons.

49. A far more important augmentation of the original Roman population, was that which resulted from the victories of the early kings over the surrounding nations—the Latins, the Sabines, and the Etruscans. When a town was conquered by the arms of Rome, the inhabitants usually lost their independence, and had a Roman governor and garrison planted among them; sometimes also a portion of them were removed to Rome. In either case they were considered as incorporated with the Romans, and entitled—such of them, at least, as had been free before—to all the privileges of fellow-citizens; with this important exception, that they were excluded from participation in the government. Thus, in process of time, there was gathered round the original *populus* of the patrician houses a vast additional population, inhabiting partly the town, partly the country round, and constituting a *plebs* or common people. Relatively to each other, the patricians or members of the populus were all politically equal; but

relatively to the plebeians or members of the plebs, they constituted an aristocracy or ruling class. Deciding in their senate, and in their meetings of the curies, whatever question of public interest might arise, they exercised a supreme authority over the plebeian population.

50. In the time of Tarquinius Priscus, therefore, the Roman nation may be considered as having been composed of four classes:—1st, The *Patricians*, or nobles, consisting of a limited number of families, exercising the whole governing power of the state; 2d, The *Plebeians*, or common people, constituting the great mass of the population, in all personal respects free, and having internal arrangements of their own, but excluded from the legislative power, subject to the patrician judges, and not allowed to intermarry legally with patrician families; 3d, The *Clients* of the patricians, a tolerably large class, residing for the most part in the city, and engrossing much of its trade, but legally beneath the plebeians in rank; and 4th, The *Slaves* of these three classes—many wealthy plebeians and clients possessing slaves as well as the patricians.

51. To return to Tarquinius.—Finding, says the story, that the cause of his want of success in his first battles with the Sabines was his deficiency in cavalry, he resolved to add to his army three new centuries of horsemen. As, however, each century of horsemen corresponded to a tribe in the populus, he could not apparently effect his purpose without adding three new tribes to the populus. He did not shrink from attempting this change, sweeping as it was; and proposed, accordingly, to create three new tribes out of the richest of the plebeian families, to take their place in the populus along with the three tribes already existing—the Ramnes, the Tities, and the Luceres. This proposal gave great alarm to the patricians; and the augur, Attius Navius, announced to the king that his design was contrary to the will of the gods. 'Out upon thee and thy auguries!' said Tarquinius: 'canst thou tell me, augur, whether the thing I am thinking of at this moment may be done?' 'It may,' replied Attius, after he had taken his auguries. 'Then,' said the king, 'take this razor and cut through that whetstone with it, for that is the thing I

was thinking of.' Attius took the razor; a smile curled his lip; he raised his hand and drew it across the whetstone, when lo! the stone divided like soft wax before it. Convinced by this miracle, Tarquinius did not double the number of the centuries and tribes as he had intended; but he effected his purpose, nevertheless, by doubling the size of each, and retaining its old name.

52. This last statement of the legend requires some explanation. There is reason to believe that in the interval between the assigned dates of Romulus and Tarquinius, the patricians, in consequence of their exclusiveness, had considerably decreased in number, many of their houses having become extinct. In the time of Tarquinius, it is probable that not one of the thirty curies possessed its full complement of ten houses, while many of them were diminished more than half. What Tarquinius did, therefore, was to fill up the deficiencies out of the plebeians. Thus, supposing that he found the tribe of the Ramnes diminished to only forty-four houses, he effected his purpose by adding fifty-six new gentes out of the plebeians, so as to complete the proper number of one hundred. In this case a distinction would be kept up between the old houses and the newly-added ones, similar to that which had formerly existed between the two higher tribes and the Luceres; and the forty-four surviving houses would be called 'the Ramnes of the Greater Houses,' while the fifty-six new ones would constitute 'the Ramnes of the Lesser Houses.' Thus, while nominally the tribes continued to be only three in number, there were, in reality, six divisions of the patricians—the original and the supplementary Ramnes, the original and the supplementary Tities, and the original and the supplementary Luceres; and if each division were made to correspond with a century of horse, Tarquinius would in this manner procure the six equestrian centuries which he required. The change in the Roman constitution effected by Tarquinius Priscus may therefore be described as having consisted in recruiting the patrician order, by admitting into it a number of the most distinguished plebeian families.

53. Besides this change in the constitution, history as-

cribes to the Etruscan king the honour of having improved and embellished the city. With the true Etruscan taste for works of public utility, he caused to be built the *Cloaca Maxima*, or great sewer of Rome, leading from the valley between the Palatine and the Capitoline Hills to the Tiber—a work which is still considered a wonderful specimen of masonry. The valley which this sewer drained was laid out as a forum or market-place, and porticoes and other buildings were erected in it for the accommodation of the public. The valley between the Palatine and the Aventine was in like manner converted into the *Circus Maximus*, or great race-course; and here, from that time, the patricians assembled to witness chariot-races, pugilistic encounters, processions and pageants, the taste for which increased under the Etruscan king. The commencement of a great wall round the city is also attributed to Tarquinius. Finally, greater pomp and ceremony was introduced in his reign into the public worship; sacrifices of living animals became common; and images of the gods began to be erected.

54. In the thirty-ninth year of his reign, in the year of the city 178, Tarquinius Priscus was murdered, according to the ancient account, by two peasants hired by the two sons of the former king, Ancus Martius. The reason for this act was, that the sons of Ancus feared that Tarquinius would prevent their succession to the throne by procuring, ere he died, the election of Servius Tullius—a young man, the son of a captive Latin girl in the queen's household, but who had so won the king's heart by his merits, that he had given him his daughter in marriage. The presence of mind of the queen, Tanaquil, foiled the intentions of the murderers. Causing the rumour to be spread that Tarquinius was not dead, and that he had nominated Servius as his deputy, she enabled the latter to assume the sovereignty without opposition. The sons of Ancus fled from the city, never to return.

55. The reign of Servius Tullius, the sixth king, is one of the most important in early Roman history; and there can be no doubt that a great part of what is narrated respecting it is authentic and worthy of credit, although much also has a legendary air. He is said to have made war

upon the Etruscans of Veii, and other cities who had revolted on the death of Tarquinius; to have added the Quirinal and Viminal Hills to the city; to have joined these hills by a mound of earth to the Esquiline; and to have built the temple of Diana on the Aventine, as a place of confederate worship for Romans, Latins, and Sabines. But it was as a reformer of the constitution that Servius became glorious in Roman history.

56. The first part of the revolution effected by Servius Tullius consisted in bestowing on the plebs or commonalty, as such, a regular organisation for the purposes of internal government. For this purpose he divided the whole plebs of the Roman territory into thirty tribes or parishes; four for the town, and twenty-six for the rural districts. Thus, as there were thirty curies of patricians, so there were thirty tribes of plebeians. Each tribe had its *tribune*, or chief magistrate; and it was lawful for each to hold meetings for the management of tribe-business. At an annual festival, called the *Paganalia*, appointed to be held in a particular spot in each rural tribe, all the parishioners of that tribe were required to assemble, each paying a certain sum; and the entire amount they collected served the purpose of a population return. Within the city, the same object was effected by a regulation requiring every family to register the births and deaths which occurred in it, as well as the arrival of its male members at the age of manhood. Farther to consolidate the commons, and improve their condition, Servius allowed them to have judges of their own in civil cases—three judges in each tribe.

57. The plebeians, however, were still without a voice in the administration of the affairs of the state. All national, as distinct from local business, continued to be conducted, as before, by the central body of patricians in their senate and meetings of curies. To remedy this, Servius had recourse to a new and totally distinct arrangement, by which there was assigned to every free man in the entire population a certain proportion, however small, of the power of the state. In this new organisation the whole population was conceived under the form of an army drawn up in its various divisions. First stood the cavalry, consisting of the

whole body of the patricians, in their three tribes or six equestrian centuries, as arranged by Tarquinius Priscus, together with twelve additional centuries of plebeian knights, chosen on account of their wealth. These eighteen centuries of equites or horsemen formed a class by itself; and all who were enrolled in them were obliged to maintain a horse and groom, the poor patricians being furnished with the necessary funds by the state, out of a tax imposed on the rich heiresses and widows. Next came the infantry in five classes; the first four forming the heavy-armed infantry or phalanx, the fifth the light-armed infantry. These five classes were composed of plebeians and clients, arranged according to the amount of their property. 1st, All those plebeians or clients whose property exceeded 100,000 *ases* or pounds weight of copper. They were bound to appear in the field in a complete suit of armour; and constituted eighty centuries—forty of young men between seventeen and forty-five years of age, and forty of older men, above forty-five. 2d, Plebeians and clients whose property was under 100,000, but above 75,000 ases, and who were not required to wear a coat of mail. They formed twenty centuries—ten of young, and ten of older men. 3d, Plebeians and clients whose property was under 75,000, but above 50,000 ases, and who appeared in the field without either coat of mail or greaves, but only with helmet, shield, sword, and spear. They likewise formed twenty centuries in all—ten of old, and ten of young men. 4th, Plebeians and clients whose property was under 50,000, but above 25,000 ases; and whose only weapons were the spear or pike, and javelin. They also formed twenty centuries—ten of old, and ten of young men; and completed the phalanx. The 5th class, or light-armed infantry, was composed of plebeians and clients whose property was under 25,000, but above 12,500 ases. Their weapons were slings or darts, and they formed thirty centuries—fifteen of old, and fifteen of young men. After the five classes came the poorest of the community, arranged in four supernumerary centuries: the *Accensi*, whose property was under 12,500, but above 7000 ases; the *Velati*, whose property was under 7000, but above 1500 ases; the *Proletarians*, whose pro-

perty was under 1500, but above 375 ases; and the *Capite Censi*, the poorest of the poor. These four orders served in the field only as supernumeraries, or on very extraordinary occasions; the last, indeed, almost never. Finally, there were three supplementary centuries—one of carpenters or engineers, one of horn-blowers, and one of trumpeters; the engineers ranking with the first infantry class, the horn-blowers and trumpeters with the fourth. The entire free community was therefore arranged in centuries as follows:—Cavalry, 18; infantry, heavy-armed and light-armed, 170; supernumeraries, 4; mechanics and musicians, 3. Total, 195.

58. Now, the change in the constitution effected by Servius Tullius consisted in adding to the two legislative bodies already existing—namely, the Senate; and the *Comitia Curiata*, or assembly of the patricians in their thirty curies—a third, composed of the 195 centuries above mentioned, and called the *Comitia Centuriata*. In this third legislative body every individual, the meanest *capite census*, as well as the highest senator, had a voice. As, however, the vote was taken by centuries, and as the centuries increased in size as they descended in the scale of wealth and rank, the voice of each individual was by no means of equal value. The eighteen centuries of cavalry, and the eighty centuries of first-class infantry, probably did not constitute together a twentieth part of the whole population; and yet, possessing between them ninety-eight votes, or one more than half the whole number, they might, if they were unanimous, carry any measure in the comitia centuriata. In short, the influence of each individual was made proportional to the interest he was conceived to have at stake; that is, to the amount of his taxable property. Thus, as three persons of the first infantry class possessed as much taxable property as four of the second, six of the third, twelve of the fourth, or twenty-four of the fifth, it was thought that their influence should be in the same proportion; and to accomplish this, a century of the first class was made less by one-fourth than one of the second class, by one-half than one of the third class, by three-fourths than one of the fourth class, and by seven-eighths than one of the fifth. Farther, as

among the five classes a preponderance in the number of centuries was given to wealth, so within each class a preponderance was given to age. Thus, in the first infantry class, the men above forty-five years of age had forty out of the eighty votes; although, according to all experience, there are always twice as many men in a community between the ages of seventeen and forty-five as there are above forty-five. Rank, property, and age, therefore, were the considerations which determined the share of influence possessed by every individual in the comitia centuriata. As a compensation, however, to the poorer classes for their comparative insignificance in this assembly, their military duties were much lighter; it being a principle of the Roman, as of almost all the ancient states, that the burden of war should be borne by those who enjoyed the political pre-eminence. Thus, in the Roman army, the brunt of the battle was borne precisely by those who exercised the largest share of political power—the cavalry, whose position and mode of fighting exposed them to special danger, and the first-class infantry, who, as being best armed, always composed the first five ranks of the *phalanx*, as it was called; that is, of the separate masses of men, three in front, and ten deep, into which the legion was originally divided. The other ranks of the phalanx were composed of the worse-armed men of the second, third, and fourth classes; while the light-armed troops of the fifth class stood altogether apart from the phalanx, but more exposed to danger than the supernumeraries, who occupied the rear, and attended to the baggage.

59. The comitia centuriata was convened in the Field of Mars by the blast of a horn; and hence, as well as from the military spirit of all the arrangements, the assembly was denominated 'The Army of the City.' No measure could originate with this assembly; its legislative functions were confined to the simple right of approving or rejecting a measure which had been previously matured in the senate. The rejection was final and decisive; but the approval did not necessarily constitute the measure into a law, because the comitia curiata, or assembly of the patrician curies, had afterwards to discuss it.

60. Let us imagine the progress of a measure through the three houses of the Roman legislature—the *Senate*, the *Comitia Curiata*, and the *Comitia Centuriata*. Duly proposed, discussed, and carried in the senate, the measure was referred to the centuries. Seventeen days' notice having been given, the people crowded in from the country on the day appointed. At the sound of the horn, the multitude congregated in the Field of Mars. The auspices were then taken by the augurs with numerous precautions. If the presiding augur declared that the omens were unfavourable; nay, if, even after the auspices had been taken, any incident occurred to mar the solemn effect; if, for instance, the sky darkened, foreboding a tempest, or if any one present were seized with an epileptic fit, the assembly was dissolved. If, however, the auspices were favourable, and no unforeseen accident occurred, the business proceeded. The candidates' names having been announced, if the object of the meeting were an election, or the minutes of the senate having been read, if it were a law, speakers were heard, and the question put by the presiding magistrate. The centuries then voted in an order determined by lot. The polling took place by word of mouth, the custom of the ballot not having been introduced at so early a period. If a majority of the centuries rejected the proposition of the senate, it fell to the ground; and the senate was obliged either to abandon it, or to reconsider its form. If, on the other hand, the proposition was approved of, it was next referred to the curies of the patricians, whose ratification or rejection decided its ultimate fate.

61. It will be seen that the virtual supremacy of the state still rested with the patricians, who retained the power—first of originating all measures, and next of quashing a measure in its last stage. Yet the constitution of Servius Tullius was a great concession to the popular spirit, for it permitted every free individual in the state to regard himself as sharing in the government. And, if we are to believe the legend, Servius did not mean to stop here. He was prepared, it is said, to propose a law for abolishing the kingly power, and intrusting the supremacy to two magistrates, to be chosen annually, one from the

populus, the other from the *plebs*. This great design, however, was thwarted by a counter-revolution, which cost Servius his life, and ushered in a reign of tyranny.

62. The good King Servius, says the legend, had two daughters—one of a mild and gentle disposition, the other bold and masculine. These he gave in marriage to the two sons of his predecessor, Tarquinius Priscus, bestowing the haughty and imperious daughter upon Aruns the elder, who was a peaceful and sincere man; and the timid and gentle one on the younger, Lucius, who was ambitious, proud, and capable of crime. These ill-judged unions led to a foul result. The bad and haughty husband murdered his gentle wife, the bad and haughty wife her apathetic husband; and the two congenial spirits were joined in a guilty marriage. 'My father Servius is old,' said Tullia to her husband; 'his hairs are gray; thou shalt be king.' Thus encouraged by his wife, Lucius began to plot against the aged monarch, conspiring with the patricians, who longed to be rid of a king who had wrought such harm to their order. So, in the harvest time, when the commons, who would have defended the king, were absent in the fields, Lucius, attended by his friends all armed, went to the Forum, and sat down in the king's chair before the door of the senate-house. When it was reported to Servius that his son-in-law was sitting in his chair and haranguing the people, he hurried to the Forum; but as he was ascending the stone steps to the place where Lucius sat, the traitor, crying out that this was his father's throne, and that he would not leave it, seized the old man, and flung him down. Stunned and bleeding, Servius tottered homewards; but ere he could reach his dwelling, he was overtaken by some servants of Lucius, who killed him, and left his body lying in the street. Meanwhile Tullia, who had been waiting impatiently at home to know the issue of the conspiracy, hastened to the senate-house, where the senators were already hailing her husband king. As she returned home in her chariot, lo! before her in the street her father's body! The mules shrank back, and the servant who drove the chariot held in the reins. 'Over the corpse, slave!' cried the wicked woman. The man obeyed;

and when he arrived at the house, he wiped the blood from the wheels. From that day the street where this happened was called 'The Street of Guilt;' and long afterwards the people would tell how, when Tullia one day entered the Temple of Fortune, where a statue of her father had been set up, the stone shuddered, and, as if gifted that moment with a spasm of life, covered its face with its hands.

63. Thus died the good King Servius, after a reign of forty-four years, in the year of the city 222. The commons lamented him as a martyr in their cause, who had perished on account of the hatred borne to him by the patricians.

64. Lucius, who, under the name of Tarquinius Superbus, or Tarquin the Proud, held the sovereignty to which he had succeeded by such foul means, instantly swept away every vestige of the reformation which had been effected by his predecessor. The census, the division of the plebeians into classes, the tribe-meetings, the plebeian judges, were all abolished; and the people began to groan under forced task-work, extortionate taxes, and wrongs severer still. Surrounding himself, like the Grecian tyrants, with a body-guard of foreign soldiers, Tarquinius also made himself independent of the patricians, many of whom he slew or banished.

65. Tyrant as he was, Tarquinius had a princely mind; and none of her kings did more to advance the glory of Rome. He established his influence over the whole of Latium. The Hernicans, also, were glad to procure his favour by an alliance. The Volscian city of Suessa Pometia, which was the first to oppose him in war, he took and pillaged, selling the inhabitants for slaves; and Gabii, a city of the Latins, which dared, confiding in the strength of its walls, to stand apart from the general confederation of which he was the head, was won for him by his son Sextus, who, pretending that he had fled to escape his father's wrath, gained admission into the city, and then betrayed it, after putting its chiefs to death. The wealth acquired in these wars Tarquinius expended partly in the payment of his mercenaries, partly in great architectural works. He finished the drains which had been begun by

his father the first Tarquinius; but his chief work was the temple on the Saturnian Hill. The various fanes which already stood on the hill having been removed after due consultation of the auguries, the ground was levelled, and a magnificent triple temple under one roof erected to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—the three principal Etruscan deities. The temple and the hill itself were thenceforward known by the name of *The Capitol*, derived from the Latin word *caput*, which signifies *a head;* some say because a fresh and bleeding head was found by the workmen when digging the foundations, others because it was prophesied that that hill should be the head of the whole world.

66. While the Capitol was building, says the legend, there came to the king one day a withered old woman, carrying nine books of prophecies of the Sibyl, which she offered to sell for three hundred pieces of gold. The king bade her go away, which she did; but after burning three of the books, she returned and asked the same price for the remaining six. Again treated with scorn, she retired, burnt other three of the volumes, and then came back demanding the same sum for the three which were left. Astonished at this conduct, the king consulted the augurs, who assured him that in those nine books, six of which had been lost, were contained the fates of the city and of the Roman people. The three surviving volumes were accordingly purchased, and deposited in a stone chest, which was buried in the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol.

67. Although the reign of the tyrant seemed prosperous, there were not wanting signs to show that Heaven remembered his crimes. Once, as a sacrifice was lying on the altar in the palace ready to be offered up, a huge snake came in and seized the flesh. Distrusting the power of the Etruscan augurs to interpret so awful a portent, Tarquinius sent his sons, Titus and Aruns, with rich presents to consult the oracle of Delphi in Greece. The young princes were accompanied on their errand by their cousin Lucius Junius, who was usually to be seen loitering near the stables of the palace, and was known to all Rome by the name of Brutus, or The Idiot. He was the son of Tarquinia, the king's sister, by Marcus Junius. His elder

brother had been put to death by the royal order, but he was spared on account of his imbecility. Wild figs and honey were his diet, and all the people pitied him. At length the two princes and their idiot cousin presented themselves before the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, the princes offering their gifts, and the idiot holding out his staff, which the priestess took, for it was heavy, and when cut through, was found to be full of gold. The answer of the god through the priestess was, that Tarquinius would lose his kingdom when a dog should speak with a human voice. When the princes, startled by the answer, desired to know who should be king after him, 'He,' replied the priestess, 'who shall first kiss his mother.' Satisfied with this answer, the princes departed, agreeing to decide between them by lot which should first kiss the lips of their mother Tullia when they came to Rome; but as they were descending the hill from the temple, the idiot stumbled, and, unperceived by them, pressed his mouth to the earth—the great mother of us all.

68. When the princes returned, they found their father besieging Ardea, the city of the Rutulians. One night, not long after their arrival, they were supping in the tent of their brother Sextus; and their relative Lucius Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus, a grandnephew of the first King Tarquinius, was with them. Made merry with wine, they began to talk of the virtues of their wives, each maintaining that his own was the worthiest lady. To decide the question, they agreed to ride first to Rome, about sixteen miles distant, and from that a farther distance of about eight miles to Collatia, to visit their wives by surprise, and see how they were respectively occupied in the absence of their husbands. At Rome, the wives of the three princes were found feasting; at Collatia, though it was now late, Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, was spinning in the midst of her maidens. The four friends, therefore, returned to Ardea, the princes agreeing that Collatinus had the best lady for his wife. But not many days had elapsed, before Sextus returned to Collatia, cherishing the blackest purpose against the chaste and too-lovely Lucretia. Admitted and entertained by her as her husband's friend, he used violence

to destroy her honour. All frantic and disconsolate, the innocent wife sent for her father Lucretius and her husband Collatinus. 'Come,' she said, 'and see me ere I die.' They came, eager to know the cause of so sudden a summons; Lucretius accompanied by his friend Publius Valerius, Collatinus by the all-prying idiot Brutus. When she saw them before her, she told her wrong; named the man who had done it; bade them avenge her; and then, drawing a knife from beneath the mourning robe which she wore, stabbed herself to the heart. While husband, father, and friend hang horror-stricken over the bleeding body, the idiot advances, stoops, plucks the dagger from the wound, and, rising erect, with outstretched arm, swears, as the blood drips from the weapon in his hand, 'Ye gods, by this blood I swear that I will avenge this deed on Tarquinius and his house, and that no longer shall a king reign in Rome.'

69. Brutus was only a pretended idiot, and now he threw off his disguise: thus, according to the meaning of the oracle, a dog had spoken with a human voice. The rest of the prediction was speedily fulfilled. Roused by the sight of Lucretia's body, which was carried out into the market-place, the people of Collatia shut their gates, that none might leave the city except such as accompanied Brutus to Rome. There, when the former idiot assembled the people, and told them what had happened at Collatia, the long-suppressed fury against the tyrant broke out; and the patricians in their curies passed a decree of banishment against him and all his house. Brutus then set out for the camp at Ardea, while Tarquinius, who had heard of the revolt, was returning by a different road to Rome. At Ardea the soldiers received Brutus with enthusiasm, and drove the sons of Tarquinius out of the camp. Tarquinius himself, being refused admission into the city, retired; and he and his two sons, Titus and Aruns, went to live in the Etruscan city of Cære. Sextus, the cause of the insurrection, was killed by his former victims, the people of Gabii, with whom he sought refuge. Exulting in their deliverance, the Romans swore that from that day no king should rule in Rome. According to the plan which Servius Tul-

lius had proposed, they elected two annual magistrates, who, exercising the sovereignty jointly while the year of their office lasted, should be responsible for their conduct at its close. These two magistrates were called 'The Consuls'—that is, 'The Colleagues;' and the persons chosen to fill the office for the first year were Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia.

70. Such is the memorable legend of the expulsion of the kings from Rome. The historical truth probably is, that Tarquinius, having succeeded to Servius Tullius by some counter-revolution of the patricians against that king's popular government, ruled in a spirit contrary to that of his predecessor; that at length he gave offence even to the party which had placed him on the throne; and that a coalition of patricians and plebeians was formed strong enough to expel him, and abolish the regal mode of government. The story of the inhuman Tullia, and that of the chaste Lucretia, are the subsequent inventions of the popular imagination, working under the influence of veneration for the good King Servius, the friend of the plebeians. The striking story of Brutus is full of contradictions, which prove it to be not a historical reality, but a poetical representation of the fact of a people, long dumb and helpless under oppression, at length goaded into action. This view is confirmed by the strong probability which exists, that Lucius Junius Brutus (for of the appointment of a person of this name to be one of the first consuls there is no doubt) was a plebeian. The other consul, Collatinus, was a patrician. The great revolution which changed the Roman government from the regal to the consular form was therefore, it may be assumed, the result of a coalition between a strong patrician party and the whole body of the plebs—the principal agent in effecting the coalition, and the prime mover throughout the crisis, being a plebeian.

71. According to the Roman annals, the expulsion of the Tarquinii took place on the 24th of February, in the year of the city 245, which corresponds to the year 509 before Christ. The day on which an event so momentous in Roman history was said to have taken place, was com-

memorated afterwards by the festival of the *Regi-fugium*, or King's Flight.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF SOCIETY AMONG THE EARLY ROMANS.

72. Originally, and while the community was composed only of the three hundred houses of the populus, the Roman territory did not extend beyond a circuit of five miles round the little town which was its centre. The whole of this space was divided into two parts — the private land, distributed in portions of two Roman jugera, or little more than one English acre, among the burghers, one such portion becoming the *heredium* or exclusive property of each, cultivated by himself and family, and descending to his heirs; and the public land belonging to the state, and let out, with the exception of certain portions reserved for religious purposes, as common pasture ground, upon which, on payment of a small sum, the citizens were at liberty to feed their cattle. By the conquests of two centuries and a-half, however, the Roman territory had increased, so as to include nearly all Latium from the Apennines to the sea, and a considerable portion, it would appear, of Lower Etruria. Within the walls built by Servius Tullius, which included the famous seven hills of Rome, and which, for nearly eight centuries, were regarded as the walls of the city, lay the four town parishes or tribes, the names of which were the Suburan, the Esquiline, the Palatine, and the Capitoline. The whole space, however, within the walls, was not yet occupied by buildings; a considerable extent of grass land was left between the ramparts and the houses, to which, in case of invasion, the people of the country round might retire with their cattle. Without the city walls, stretching away north, south, east, and west, were the twenty-six rural parishes.

73. Before the plebs or common people had accumulated in the city, or at least when the plebs accumulated was too weak to advance a claim, the new lands obtained by conquest became the property of the populus. Such portions of them as were in good cultivation, might be bought or otherwise acquired by individual citizens desirous of enlarging the little estates which they already possessed; and the portions thus acquired became in all respects the private property of the individual. Purchases of this kind, however, do not appear to have been common; and the greater portion of the new land was simply annexed to the public pasture ground already existing, to the use of which all the members of the populus were entitled. But after the plebs began to accumulate in the city, and became powerful and useful as soldiers, the patricians were obliged to share the lands acquired in war with them. Accordingly, in the later conquests, the following was the plan adopted:—Depriving the conquered tribes of part of their territory, the state first allotted portions of about seven jugera a-piece from the appropriated part to indigent plebeian families, who became thenceforward the lawful owners of the soil thus assigned them; other portions were exposed for sale by public authority, and might be bought by patricians or plebeians. What remained (and this was usually the larger proportion of the whole) was annexed to the unallotted state land, the property of the populus in common. With regard to this state land, a very curious system prevailed. Any patrician was allowed to occupy and cultivate as much of it as he chose, on condition of his paying the state a tithe of the produce, if it were arable land, and a fifth, if it were laid out in vineyards and olive-yards. The land thus occupied did not, by right of possession, become the property of the individual; he was liable to be turned out of it at the pleasure of the state; and it was entirely at his own risk that he laid out capital in improving it. As, however, it very rarely happened that an individual was ejected from the land which he had thus occupied, immense tracts were speedily occupied by enterprising patricians, who built farm-houses, set up wine and olive-presses, and brought

the soil into cultivation, with great profit to themselves. Although the privilege of thus occupying the public land belonged exclusively to the patricians, yet a patrician might sublet the portion he had occupied to a plebeian or to a client.

74. The whole Roman territory, therefore, may be considered as having consisted of four descriptions of land—1st, The private property of patricians, consisting chiefly of cultivated land near the city, but including also building areas within the walls; 2d, The private property of plebeians, situated for the most part in the rural parishes beyond the city walls; 3d, Public property occupied and farmed by patricians as tenants-at-will of the state, or sublet by them to plebeians and clients; and 4th, Public property not occupied by individuals, but either consecrated and set apart for religious purposes, or let out as pasture for hire.

75. It is stated that, in a census taken by Servius Tullius, the Roman population, exclusive of slaves, was estimated at 84,700 souls. The statement is not authentic; but accepting it as a conjectural estimate, we may imagine the plebeians and clients together to have composed the 80,000, while the populus cannot have exceeded the remaining 4700.

76. Inhabiting a country remarkable for its fertility, the Etruscans and the Latins appear to have been skilful farmers at a very remote period; and their offspring, the Romans, doubtless inherited their knowledge. At first, however, owing to the small extent of their territory, the Romans must have practised only spade-husbandry, such as is suitable for garden-farms. To dig and lay out to the best advantage their acre and a quarter of good land, and to rear as many cattle as they could afford to pasture on the public grazing-ground—such were the occupations of the original patrician and his sons. When, however, in consequence of the increase of territory, the patricians became the farmers of large estates, an improved system of agriculture began to prevail. Farms were stocked with slaves, oxen, ploughs, &c.; slave-huts, field-fences, &c. were built; and the patricians began to constitute an

opulent portion of the community, living on the produce of their estates. The poorer plebeians and clients, however, were still content to cultivate their small allotments with such inferior means as they possessed. Wheat of various kinds, barley, pulse, and turnips, were usual crops. The early husbandmen were also proficient in the cultivation of the vine and the olive, and in the management of live-stock. Milk, butter, cheese, honey, were all well-known articles of diet among the primitive Romans; and wool, skins, and horn, were then, as now, turned to well-known uses. Sheep and oxen were plentiful and cheap; but horses, especially good war-horses, were dear, and probably required to be imported.

77. Spinning, weaving, dyeing, tanning, saddlery, tailoring, smith-work, cutlery, mason-work, carpentry, wheel-work—these, and all other modes of mechanical industry essential to the existence of a community in a tolerable state of civilisation, were in practice among the early Romans; and it is probable that many of their processes in such arts were derived from the Etruscans. The more severe kinds of mechanical labour in patrician households were probably performed by slaves.

78. Connected both by blood and neighbourhood with the Etruscans, the Romans shared the commercial spirit of that people; and there is evidence that they carried on a busy traffic at a very early period not only with the other parts of Italy, but also with the more distant coasts of the Mediterranean, and, above all, with the great African state of Carthage. Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, and other towns on the Latin coast, were the seaports of Rome. It seems, however, that the foreign commerce was almost exclusively in the hands of the patricians, who, exporting wool, hides, and such-like materials, received in return from foreign countries gold, flax, gems, and cloth. The kings, possessing large domains, were probably the most extensive merchants. While foreign commerce was thus a privilege of the patricians, retail trading at home was open to the lower classes; and it would appear that a large proportion of the client population employed themselves as agents in collecting produce for exportation, and

in distributing both native and imported goods among the citizens.

79. The coin then used as the medium of exchange was copper or bronze money; copper being then the most available metal. The unit of value was the *as*, a mass of copper, originally twelve ounces, or a full Roman pound in weight. The inconvenience of such a coin may be inferred from the fact, that the price of a war-horse and slave for a knight was ten thousand ases, or ten thousand pounds' weight of copper. The price of articles in common demand, however, was much smaller; that of a sheep, for instance, being ten, and that of an ox a hundred ases. Servius Tullius is said to have first stamped the as, using for the purpose the figure of an ox: till then, the ases were mere blocks of metal, cast in a mould; sometimes a number together, in the form of a bar.

80. The houses of this period were rude and mean in appearance; built of wood or brick, one storey high, and covered with thatch or shingles. The door or lobby admitted at once into the *atrium* or principal apartment, which served as kitchen, dining-room, sitting-room, and work-room. On the floor were scattered stools, tables, distaffs, &c.; and in one spot was the hearth or fireplace, sacred to the household gods, but used for all the ordinary purposes of a kitchen fire. It was sometimes built of brick, a little above the level of the floor—not unfrequently it was a mere movable grate or brazier; and round it the servants in farm-houses used to assemble to take their meals. There was no chimney, nor generally were there windows; but in the centre of the flat roof, formed by four cross-beams, was a large rectangular aperture, like a trap-door, through which the smoke escaped, and the light and air entered. To receive the rain, there was a cistern or sink in the floor immediately beneath the aperture. At the sides and back of the atrium, and opening from it, were usually one or two smaller rooms, serving as sleeping apartments for the family, or for other purposes. Rising very early in the morning, the members of the family first offered up their prayers in the *lararium*, a recess in the atrium, containing their household gods; then, after a breakfast of bread

and cheese, or other such simple fare, they were ready for the business of the day. Dinner was served up about noon; and a third meal was probably taken in the evening, before retiring to rest. All classes, however, did not live in the same homely style. In constant contact with the Etruscans, the wealthier patricians must have imbibed a taste for the luxuries and domestic comforts known to that people; and then, as now, there must have been contrasts of better and worse in the houses, the furniture, and the food of the various classes of the community.

81. That the Roman youths of early times received a training in arms and gymnastics, may be assumed as certain; but in addition to this, and to the technical training of individuals for the occupations which they were to follow, there must have been some means of *education*, in the more restricted sense of that word. The priests and augurs were probably in the habit of instructing those who were to be their successors; and thus the rudiments of learning, including the arts of writing, computation, astronomical observation, &c. were possessed by at least a portion of the community. To many the Etruscan language was familiar; and to a few even the Greek. Indeed when we connect the known fact, that the Etruscans of this period were cultivating Greek literature, with the tradition that, during the first five centuries of Rome, the Roman youths were instructed in the learning of Etruria, we are obliged to admit the existence among them of a considerable body of acquired knowledge even at this early date.

82. Among the early Romans, as in almost all the ancient states, the sentiment of social intercourse was much stronger than it is in the majority of modern nations. A quiet domestic life, with only so much intercourse with the general public as may be necessary for the purposes of business, is the practice in our own country. In a community, however, so small, that every member of it felt himself related to the whole, the case was necessarily different. Life in the open air, hundreds of persons together, was more congenial to the Romans than domestic privacy.

Besides the ordinary influences which bring men into familiarity with each other — as neighbourhood, companionship in the army, similarity of profession, meetings in the street, in shops, or in markets, friendly entertainments, &c. there were among them peculiar occasions for strengthening the social feeling; the feeling, that is, of the relation of the individual to the mass of his fellow-citizens. Among these may be mentioned the meetings of the gentes or houses for their common sacrifices; the meetings of the patricians in the senate and comitia curiata, of the plebeians in their tribes, and of the whole people in their comitia centuriata; the great public processions and religious ceremonies; and lastly, the games, chariot-races, and other public exhibitions, of which they were in all ages so enthusiastically fond. By these incessant meetings, sometimes in tens and twenties, sometimes in hundreds, sometimes in thousands, sometimes in assemblages larger still, and always with some definite object in view, the Romans acquired the habit of acting familiarly, and without reserve, in each other's presence, and also of acting with order in concert.

83. The foundation of all civil order among the early Romans, was the absolute power exercised by the *pater-familias*, or male head of a family, over all connected with it. According to this system, which was evidently a relic of that earlier condition of society out of which the Romans took their origin, the head of a family had supreme jurisdiction over his wife, his children, his slaves, and all depending on these; as, for instance, the wives of his sons and their children. He could divorce his wife, or put her to death; and, so long as he lived, he retained the authority of a master over his son: he could sell him, beat him, imprison him, or take away his life at his pleasure, and this although the son were of mature age, and in the exercise of high civil functions. The general at the head of his army, or the judge in his chair, might be seized by his father, and dragged home to receive stripes. By his will—which, however, required to be read before the comitia curiata if he were a patrician, and before the assembly of the centuries if he were a plebeian—the father could dispose of his property as he chose. On his death, the son became

at length master of his own household, and at the same time guardian of his unmarried sisters and other surviving female relatives. It was a fundamental maxim in the old Roman law that every woman, at all times of her life, should be under the tutelage of some male citizen.

84. The power of the *pater-familias*, to the exercise of which there was no check except public opinion, was a security for a certain degree of order within the circle of each individual family or group of households; but for the purposes of order throughout the community, it was necessary that there should be laws concerning the conduct of individuals, not as members of a household, but as citizens. Hence there arose, partly out of long-continued custom, partly out of express legislation by the senate and curies, a code of laws distinguishable, like the laws of all nations, into two kinds—civil and criminal.

85. Recognising as valid the natural law of paternal authority, the civil code gave precision to it by defining the conditions of a legal marriage, regulating the forms of divorce, emancipation, &c. It also fixed the mode of succession to property not disposed of by will. All children were declared entitled to an equal share of the father's property, the wife counting as one of the daughters, and the children of a deceased son inheriting the portion which would have fallen to him. Failing direct heirs, the property went to the nearest *agnati*, or relations by the father's side; and failing these, to the gens to which the deceased person had belonged.

86. One of the most remarkable portions of the civil law was that relating to debt. One person might incur a money obligation to another in various ways—by borrowing money, under promise, express or understood, of repayment against a certain date, usually accompanied with a peculiar formality, by which the borrower pledged his person, and all that belonged to him, as security, and became by this means *nexus*, as it was called; that is, bound to the lender—by receiving goods on credit—and also by being cast in damages in a court of law, on account of some injury done to a fellow-citizen—assault, petty larceny, and some other offences, which are penal with us, being treated as

civil wrongs, to be atoned for by a compensation in money. In whatever way the debt was contracted, the consequences of inability to discharge it were fearful. When the time appointed had elapsed, the creditor might sue the debtor for payment; and in cases where the debt had been contracted by loan, the original sum was usually increased by the addition of exorbitant interest. The insolvent debtor, if he had gone through the formality of becoming nexus to the creditor at the time of borrowing the money, was obliged to fulfil his bargain; that is, he and his family became the slaves of the creditor. If the debtor were not nexus, the treatment he incurred was much more severe. If, within thirty days after the decision of the judge, he did not pay the debt, the creditor was authorised to seize him, and keep him in chains for sixty days, allowing him a pound of corn daily. During these sixty days he was to be three times exposed in public, to afford opportunities to such as might be disposed to pay his debt for him. If no one did so, it was in the option of the creditor, at the end of the sixty days, to put the debtor to death, or sell him into foreign slavery. If there were several creditors, they might even hew the debtor in pieces, and take each a portion of his body, in lieu of the money due to them.

87. Among the civil wrongs which were accounted of too serious a character to be absolved by a compensation in money, were the more heinous kinds of theft, and also libel. For the former, scourging and slavery were frequent punishments. For libel or defamation of character, the punishment was singularly severe. 'If any one make malicious verses against another,' said the law, 'let him be capitally punished.' It is not clear, however, whether the punishment thus designated was death, or only degradation from civil rights.

88. The penal or criminal code took cognisance of murder, fire-raising, treason, perjury, and witchcraft, all of which were regarded as crimes against the state, and were therefore tried by the whole people assembled in their centuries, or by judges deputed by them. The punishment for such crimes was death; the most frequent modes of

inflicting which were beheading, hanging, burning, and precipitation from the Tarpeian rock.

89. In a state in which every citizen served as a soldier, the public burdens did not require to be very great. The items of the Roman revenue, in early times, were the tithes paid by the patricians for the public lands which they occupied, the sums received for the use of the public pastures, the rent paid by those who farmed the public mines and salt-works; probably, also, certain harbour-dues, tolls, and duties on sales; besides tribute and exactions from conquered nations. The administration of the finances was wholly in the hands of the senate.

90. In attempting to form an idea of the state of morals among the early Romans, we must not be misled by the common mistake, that there was necessarily more virtue in primitive than in later times. Yet all historians agree in speaking well of their character. 'In peace and war,' says one, 'they cultivated good morals; right and duty were regarded, not so much on account of the laws, as from natural impulse.' 'They were distinguished,' says another, 'for endurance, for a simple manner of life, and a plain contented enjoyment of their goods.' Allowing for exaggeration in such statements, the Romans appear from the very first to have exhibited a character of great promise—severe, stern, and occasionally even savage, yet gifted with an inherent rectitude, and a noble scorn of whatever was base or mean. No trait of their character was more marked than their reverence for form. Even a phrase which had once received the sanction of usage became sacred in their eyes; so that, rather than discard it altogether, they would find a new meaning for it. This love of what was established was one of the points in their character which qualified them for the part which they were to perform in the history of human progress.

91. The religion of the Romans was that system of Polytheism which appears to have been common to all the nations of the Pelasgic stock, and which the Oscans and Etruscans likewise professed. According to this creed, there lived in the heavens, the air, the earth, the forests,

and the waters, an infinite number of divine beings, by whose agency all nature was governed. In every phenomenon, but especially in those which were unusual or disastrous—the falling of a tree, the blowing of a hurricane, the wreck of a ship, the defeat of an army, or the raging of a pestilence—the action of a divinity was recognised. At the head of the hierarchy of gods was Jupiter, and immediately under him were a number of deities, male and female, of whom the chief were Mars, Neptune, Apollo, Mercury, Vulcan, Pluto, Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Diana, Venus, and Ceres. Every deity was conceived to preside specially over some one department of nature or of human affairs. Thus Mars, a favourite deity with the Romans, was the god of war; Ceres was the goddess of agriculture, and therefore the object of worship to the farmer; the merchant would pray to Mercury, the artificer to Vulcan, the lover to Venus, and so on—the worshipper determining for himself, or being instructed by the priests, to which of the gods he should go in a particular case. The division of offices, however, was not very exact; and many of the gods were worshipped under a variety of characters and denominations.

92. Regarding the gods, Homer and the other Greek poets had invented, or at least embodied in verse, innumerable legends, representing them as colossal human beings, thinking, speaking, and acting in a human manner, and detailing their births, marriages, crimes, wars with each other, and interventions in human affairs. Whether these fables were originally, as some suppose, embellished versions of primitive history, or whether, as others suppose, they were allegories, intended to convey a deep spiritual meaning, or whether, finally, they were mere spontaneous exercises of the poetical faculty, without any intentional consistency of meaning, it is certain that among the Greeks they constituted the actual substance of the popular creed. The case was somewhat different with the ancient Romans. Their religion was indeed the same in form as that of the Greeks, but it was more deeply tinged with the Oriental or purely mystic spirit—a difference which was probably owing to the mixture of the Oscan and Etruscan ingre-

dients with the original Pelasgic in the national constitution. Instead of participating in the satisfaction which the Greek felt in wooing down the gods, and rendering them familiar by means of paintings and statues, upon which the eye could rest with pleasure, without necessarily seeking to penetrate farther, the Roman never ceased to be haunted and overawed with a vague sense of his connection with a dark and mysterious world. For the first hundred and seventy years, the Romans, as we have seen, had no statues in their temples, believing that the Deity could be approached only in thought; and even after statues were introduced, the same profound sense of mystery remained, the same longing desire to gaze into the dark world, of which the statues were only, as it were, so many white objects standing in the foreground.

93. Like the Etruscans, whose natural gloom they partly inherited, along with the modes of manifesting it, the Romans blended religious observances with their whole public and private life. Besides the sacrifices offered by individuals, by families, and by the gentes, sacred rites were performed at the expense of the state on all solemn public occasions. In private, every head of a family acted as a priest; but for public purposes, there existed a special body of sacerdotal officials, chosen from among the patricians. Priestly and political powers were thus conjoined in the same individuals. The most exalted class of priests were the augurs, who interpreted the will of the gods from natural appearances, and who were consulted in all cases of importance or difficulty. The augurs were not mere jugglers or impostors; they firmly believed in their own art, and were guided in its practice by regular rules which had descended to them from their predecessors, partly in tradition, partly in books. The Sibylline books appear to have been collections of moral maxims and mystical sayings in Greek. The mode of consulting them was the same as that which ignorant persons of the present day practise with the Bible: one of the books was opened at random, and whichever passage first struck the eye, was received as a divine intimation suited to the occasion. Almost every ancient city possessed such a set of sacred books.

94. Of science, properly so called, the ancient Romans were acquainted only with the rudiments of those branches which we find earliest cultivated among all nations—namely, mathematics and astronomy; and even in these they must have borrowed what they knew from the Etruscans. It is worthy of notice, however, that the ancient practice of divination must have contributed to the acquisition of a considerable knowledge respecting nature. As regards literature, it is an ascertained fact that the Romans had none until long after the expulsion of the kings. The only writings of the regal period which came down to later ages were a few monumental inscriptions, and one or two tablets of annals; and these were scarcely intelligible to scholars in the time of Cicero. Ballads and songs, however, were doubtless current even in the earliest times.

95. Upon the whole, it would appear that at the period of the expulsion of the Tarquinii, Rome was a rising city, inhabited by a population not greatly inferior in culture to the most advanced of the Italic nations. Yet there were several larger and finer cities then in Italy; as, for instance, the Etruscan city of Veii, at a distance of twelve miles on the other side of the Tiber; and if Rome had been destroyed at this point of her history, the fact would probably have caused little sensation, except in the immediate neighbourhood, and even there it would soon have been forgotten.

PERIOD OF THE COMMONWEALTH.—PART I.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE COMMONWEALTH—DIFFICULTIES AND INTERNAL COMMOTIONS, B.C. 509–471.—Y. R. 245–283.

96. The first consequence of the expulsion of the kings from Rome, was an increase of the political power of the plebeians. Their tribe meetings were restored; such as were poor had portions assigned them out of the confiscated lands of the royal family; and, most important of all, many of the richest and most considerable of their body were drafted into the patrician or senatorial order, to supply the vacancies caused by the recent commotions. If, however, this change in the constitution had the effect, on the one hand, of consolidating the state within, it had the effect, on the other hand, of embroiling it with the neighbouring nations, and for a time greatly reducing the extent of its territory.

97. Tarquinius, says the legend, sent messengers to Rome from the place of his retreat—the Etruscan city of Cæré—ostensibly to demand the movable property which belonged to him, but really to excite the patricians in his behalf. Within the city, accordingly, a plot was formed for the subversion of the new constitution. A slave, who overheard the conspirators while they were arranging their plans, denounced them to the consuls: they were seized; and, alas! ringleaders among the rash young men were Titus and Tiberius, the sons of Brutus, and the two Aquilii, nephews of Collatinus. On the morrow the consuls took their seats of justice in the Forum, and the people gathered round them to see what would be the issue. The conspirators were brought in front of the tribunal; and among them the two sons of Brutus, who cast appealing looks to their father, while all the people pitied them. But the

face of Brutus was unmoved; he condemned his children to death, saying, 'Lictors, do your duty.' The young men were then stripped and scourged by the lictors, and their heads struck off in their father's sight. The nephews of Collatinus and the other conspirators suffered the same fate and the people went to their homes marvelling at the stern justice of their consuls. Not long afterwards, Brutus received for his colleague Publius Valerius, who had been present at the death of Lucretia; and Collatinus, of whom the people were distrustful, because he belonged to the Tarquinian race, went into exile.

98. Tarquinius, failing in his attempt to overthrow the new constitution by secret conspiracy, prevailed on the two Etruscan cities of Veii and Tarquinii to lend him their assistance, that he might enter Rome by force. Advancing with a large army of Etruscans and Roman exiles to the frontier of the Roman territory on the Tuscan side of the Tiber, he was met by the troops of the Commonwealth, with the consuls at their head. A battle ensued, in the beginning of which Brutus and Aruns, the son of Tarquinius, killed each other in single combat. Night ended the conflict before either side could claim the victory; but during the darkness, a voice was heard proclaiming that the Etruscans had lost one man more than their opponents. The Romans therefore returned home victorious, carrying with them the body of Brutus, which was buried with great honour; and the matrons mourned for him a whole year, as for a father.

99. Publius, the surviving consul, delaying the meeting of the centuries for the election of a successor to Brutus, became suspected of a design to usurp the sovereignty. The consul, however, proved the injustice of these suspicions by proposing two popular laws—the one enabling a plebeian to appeal to the tribes against a sentence of the consuls, and the other declaring accursed any citizen who should aspire to royal power. In consequence of these popular acts, he received the name of *Publicola*, or The People's Friend. For his colleague was chosen Spurius Lucretius, the father of Lucretia; but after a few days, Lucretius died, and the patrician Marcus Horatius was appointed in his place.

100. Tarquinius, still bent on recovering his kingdom, applied for assistance to Lars Porsenna, the famous lord of the city of Clusium, and the most powerful man in Etruria. Eagerly embracing the proposal of Tarquinius, Porsenna marched towards the Tiber with a large army. Terrified by the approach of this formidable enemy, the Romans fell back from the Janiculan Hill into the city on the other side of the river. Nothing but a wooden bridge lay between the Etruscan army and Rome. Three resolute men alone remained to oppose the advancing forces, while behind them hundreds of citizens were at work with saws and axes cutting down the bridge. The three fought like lions, dealing death to all who came within their reach. At length, as the timbers began to give way, two of them turned and bounded across, leaving the third alone—brave Horatius Cocles, who never fled from a foe. Fast by the entrance to the bridge he stands, blocking it against the Etruscans, while the saws and axes do their work. Crash at last goes the bridge, its broken beams and planks falling into the water; and Rome is safe. The brave Cocles turns round on the river bank—'Receive me, oh, Father Tiber!' he cries, and leaps into the stream. The Romans on the other side shout; the Etruscan javelins rattle against his armour; bravely he breasts the stream, pushing aside the floating timbers, till at length he rises, faint, but unhurt, on the other bank among his countrymen. As a reward for his valour, the people afterwards erected his statue in the Comitium, and gave to him a large tract of land.

101. The bravery of Cocles had saved Rome from the assault of the Etruscans, but the presence of a hostile army occasioned a famine in the city. In these circumstances, Caius Mucius, a noble Roman youth, formed a design to deliver the state. With the permission of the senate, he crossed the Tiber, and entered the Etruscan camp. There seeing a man in scarlet robes, to whom all were paying deference, he drew a dagger and stabbed him, supposing him to be Porsenna. The person thus killed, however, was not Porsenna, but his chief scribe or secretary; and Caius, being carried into the presence of the king, was

threatened with dreadful torments, unless he would answer the questions which should be put to him. 'Behold,' said he, 'how much I care for your torments;' and with these words he thrust his right hand amidst the burning coals of an altar standing near, holding it there till it was scorched black. Porsenna, amazed at the courage of the youth, granted him his life and liberty, upon which Caius told him that three hundred Roman youths had taken an oath to kill him, so that, although he had escaped this time, he was still in danger. Caius then returned to Rome, where he was rewarded for his valour; and his posterity, to commemorate his bold action, assumed the name of *Scævola*, or 'The Left-Handed.'

102. At length Porsenna consented to withdraw his support from Tarquinius, on condition that the Romans should restore to the Etruscan city of Veii the lands on the right bank of the Tiber which had originally belonged to it. To this the Romans agreed; and, as a pledge of their sincerity, they gave ten Roman youths and as many maidens of noble birth as hostages to Porsenna. The maidens, however, escaped; and one of them, named Clælia, plunging into the Tiber, the rest swam across after her. The senate sent them back to Porsenna; but the Etruscan king, admiring the spirit of Clælia, set her at liberty, and permitted her to choose such of her fellow-hostages as she wished to accompany her. The Romans and their generous enemy then parted with mutual compliments; Porsenna leaving as a gift his camp and all its stores on the Janiculan, and the senate presenting him in return with an ivory throne, a fine robe, and a crown and sceptre of gold. Thus the formidable alliance between Tarquinius and the great Etruscan chief ended to the advantage of those whom it had threatened to overwhelm.

103. Deserted by the Etruscans, Tarquinius turned for help to the Latins, with whom his government had been more popular than with the Romans, and to one of whose chiefs—Mamilius Octavius, the prince of the city of Tusculum—he had given his daughter in marriage. Thirty of the Latin cities threw off their allegiance to Rome. At

length the two armies met on the banks of the lake Regillus, near Tusculum; the Latins commanded by Mamilius, the Romans by a chief invested with supreme authority for the occasion, Publicola being dead. A terrible battle ensued, in which many illustrious men were slain on both sides; but in the end the Romans, aided by two tall youths of noble appearance, who were seen fighting on white horses in the thickest of the fray, gained the victory, and dispersed the Latins. After the battle, the two strange horsemen were sought for, but could not be found, but the hoof-print of a horse was discovered stamped on a black stone on the field; and at the very hour of the conclusion of the battle, two youths on foaming horses gallopped into the Forum at Rome, and after announcing victory to the anxious crowd which was gathered there waiting for tidings, disappeared. So the people knew that the youths were the twin gods Castor and Pollux, and a temple was built to them. The issue of this battle annihilated the hopes of Tarquinius: he sought refuge in the Greek city of Cumæ, in the south of Italy; and there he died, and none of his race troubled Rome any more.

104. Such is the legendary history of the first seven years of the Commonwealth: the real history appears to be as follows. Rome, for upwards of a year after the expulsion of the kings, retained all the extent of territory which she had possessed under them. This is proved by the terms of a commercial treaty which was concluded between Rome and Carthage in the first year of the Commonwealth; these terms being, that the Carthaginian ships should be admitted to all harbours in the line of coast between Ostia and Terracina, while in return the Roman merchants should be permitted to trade with Sardinia, Sicily, and the northern coast of Africa, from Carthage westward. Soon, however, a storm arose which shattered the rising power of the Commonwealth. The Etruscans, under some great leader—not Porsenna, who is a mere hero of Etruscan fable—crossed the Tiber with the resolution of extending their dominion southwards through Italy. Rome was literally conquered, and her whole territory overrun; her lands on the right bank

of the Tiber were taken from her, and the inhabitants on the left were prohibited from using iron except for the purposes of agriculture. The Etruscans, however, having been at length checked in their progress southwards by the Latins, in conjunction with the Greek colonists of Cumæ, were unable to retain their footing in the Roman territory, and were obliged to retreat to their own side of the Tiber. Yet Rome did not recover all that she had lost. Instead of the thirty tribes which she had formerly reckoned, she found herself possessed of only twenty; ten of the rural ones, probably those situated on the Etruscan side of the Tiber, having been torn away in the contest.

105. Nor was the loss of so much territory the only conspicuous circumstance in the history of these first years of the Commonwealth. A great internal crisis was at the same time in progress—the commencement of that long series of struggles between the patricians and the plebeians, the details of which occupy so much space in Roman history. The nature of this crisis we now proceed to explain.

106. Although the expulsion of the kings was attended with some advantages to the plebeians, there still existed an immense difference between their condition and that of the patricians. In times of peace this difference might have been *less felt*; but war, injurious as it was to the prosperity of the whole commonwealth, told with doubly-injurious effect upon the plebeians. Possessing only small farms of two or three acres, the plebeians, when driven out of these by the ravages of a hostile army, were obliged, in order to save themselves and their families from starvation, to borrow money from the wealthy patricians, becoming either their clients or their *nexi*. 'If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger or a sojourner, that he may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.' Such was the law of the Israelites; but, as the reader already knows, the law among the ancient Romans was far less merciful. It allowed unlimited interest for loans, and slavery, or even death, as the punishment for insolvency.

107. Debtors to the patricians, it was impossible for the poorer classes to resist, as they might otherwise have done, the efforts now made to resume the whole political power. Such of the poorer citizens as became clients to their creditors (and multitudes appear to have done so), were bound, by the laws of clientage, to think as their patrons thought, and vote as their patrons voted. Others, who, rather than degrade themselves to the condition of clients, chose to abide by the consequences of being nexi, felt their energies crippled by fears of offending their creditors. 'I wish to vote against this patrician measure,' we may fancy a poor citizen saying to himself in the comitia centuriatia, 'but if I do so, my patrician creditor will remember it at the end of the year, when my debt becomes due.' The consequence was, that the patricians were able to pass measures which tended to throw Rome back into the condition of a pure aristocracy. The constitution of Servius Tullius, and the privileges acquired by the commons under the first consuls, were virtually annulled. Ineligible to the consulate, excluded from the senate and the curies, and voting under terror in the assembly of centuries, the Roman plebeian was fast degenerating into a condition similar to that of his neighbour the Etruscan serf.

108. One relic of freedom remained to the plebeians in the law of Publicola, which gave to every plebeian living within the city, or the circuit of a mile round it, the right of appealing to the tribes, as a burgher might to the curies, against the otherwise absolute sentence of the consuls. To elude this law, the patricians, in the year of the city 253, instituted a new supreme magistracy, called the *Dictatorship*, from its analogy to a similar office among the Latins. The person elected to this office must have previously held the consulship; the period of his office was six months, at the expiry of which he might, like the consuls, be impeached and brought to trial for his conduct; but while he was in office, he had power, without appeal, over both burghers and plebeians. The dictator was sometimes called 'the master of the burghers,' and along with him there was always appointed an officer called 'the master of the horse,' subordinate to him, but with unlimited power over the

knights and the rest of the commons. The first dictator was Titus Lartius, one of the consuls for the year. His appointment was undoubtedly favourable for the time to the patrician interests.

109. During the six years which followed the dictatorship of Lartius, the distress of the plebeians continued to increase. At length, in the year of the city 259, Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius were chosen consuls; the latter a Sabine, who had come to Rome about nine years before with an immense retinue of clients, and had been admitted into the populus—a proud man, the father of an iron-hearted race. Wo to him who offended Appius Claudius! One day, when the people were assembled in the Forum, an old man rushed in—haggard, emaciated, and ragged, with long hair and grizzly beard. 'Hear me, Romans,' he cried. 'I am an old man; I have fought in eight-and-twenty battles; the enemy burnt my little house and vineyard; I was hungry, I and my little ones; I borrowed money; and when I could not pay it, they seized me and my two sons, and we are slaves. Lo, what they have done to me!' So saying, he threw off his rags, and showed them the bloody marks of the whip, crossing the scars which he had received in battle. 'It is shameful!' cried the bystanders; and soon the whole Forum was in an uproar, for of those present the greater number either were, or had at some time been, pledged for debt. The cry was raised, 'Release us from our bondage—abolish our debts!' The commotion spread through the city. The senate assembled. 'Punish the rabble,' said Appius Claudius. Others advised milder measures. At that moment the news reached the city that the Volscians were in arms. 'Let the patricians fight their own battles,' said the plebeians; 'they shall have no help from us.' The senators, alarmed by the threat, were glad to empower the more popular of the two consuls, Servilius, to treat with the multitude. The terms which he offered were, that none of the *addicti*—that is, the slaves for debt—should be hindered from serving as soldiers; and that, while a debtor was absent on service, his family at home should be left at liberty, and in possession of his property. These terms were accepted, and the

soldiers flocked to their standards. The Volscians were defeated, and one of their towns plundered; and the army returned in triumph. Alas! scarcely had they entered the city gates, when the cruel order was issued by Appius Claudius that the slave debtors should be dragged back to their dungeons, and the pledged assigned to their respective creditors. The order, however, could not be executed; the populace defied the consul, and rescued the victims from the hands of their pitiless masters.

110. In the following year, the commons adhered to their policy of refusing to serve as soldiers. The consuls, Aulus Virginius and Titus Vetusius, could not raise an army. In the alarm of the moment, many of the senators were ready to yield to the popular demand for the abolition of debts. Again, however, Appius Claudius spoke—the evil genius of the commons:—'Appoint a dictator; he will chastise the beggars.' Fortunately, Appius himself was not elected to the office, but a more popular man, Marcus Valerius. By promises similar to those of Servilius in the former year, he succeeded in raising three armies, one of which marched, under his own command, against the Sabines; the other two, each commanded by a consul, against the Æquians and Volscians. All three were victorious. The dictator returned with his army to the city, where finding that, on account of the opposition of the patricians, he could not fulfil his promises to the plebeians, he resigned his office. The other two armies were ordered to remain in the field, the senate fearing that, if they were disbanded, it would be impossible to raise them again. The soldiers, however, broke out in mutiny. Choosing as their leader one of their own number, named Lucius Sicinius Bellutus, and dismissing the consuls and all the patricians unhurt, they marched across the Anio in a body, and took up their station on a hill about three miles from Rome. They would sooner starve, they said, than return to a city where they were slaves.

111. The crisis was fearful. Within the city there were two distinct populations—the patricians and their clients occupying the Palatine, Capitoline, Quirinal, and Cælian Hills, each of which could be defended like a fortress; and

the plebeians swarming in the other quarters of the town. Outside the town, and three miles distant from it, but ready to rush in to assist their brethren should a conflict begin, were the revolted soldiery. But how awful would be the consequences of such a trial of strength! Rome, its streets running with the blood of its citizens, would become a prey to the first enemy who should approach—Æquian, Volscian, or Etruscan; and then, when it would be too late, plebeians and patricians alike would repent of their folly. Happily, the period for the election of two new consuls arrived; and the patricians, who at such a time had the choice in their own hands, elected Spurius Cassius Viscellinus, and Postumius Cominius Auruncus, both of whom had held the office once before. The first of these, Spurius Cassius, was a great man, with noble purposes, and energies equal to the occasion. It was proposed by some of the patricians that the citizens of the nearest colonies should be invited to supply the places of the insurgent plebeians. The scheme of Spurius Cassius was wiser and more generous. It has already been mentioned that the Latins, who, under the kings, had been subject to Rome, had succeeded, during the first years of the Commonwealth, in shaking off their dependence, and organising themselves once more, according to their ancient and sacredly-cherished model, into a confederacy of thirty free cities, each governed by its own dictator, and senate of a hundred members. If, not satisfied with having thus recovered their independence, the Latins should become disposed to contract an alliance with the Volscians, Rome, in her present feeble condition, must inevitably fall. To prevent such a calamity, Spurius Cassius concluded a treaty with the Latin confederacy. According to this treaty, the words of which were engraved on a pillar of brass, it was agreed that there should be peace between the Latins and the Romans 'so long as the heaven should keep its place above the earth, and the earth its place below the heaven;' and that the relations of the two nations to each other, in peace and in their joint wars, should be those of perfect equality.

112. By this treaty with the Latins, Spurius Cassius accomplished two objects of immediate importance: he

placed Latium as a barrier between Rome and the Volscians, and he gained for the Roman government sufficient strength to enable it to deal with the revolted plebeians. He did not, however, treat the latter harshly, or refuse to listen to their demands. The ten foremost of the senate were deputed to hold a conference with the plebeian soldiery in their encampment on the other side of the Anio. One of these, Menenius Agrippa, addressed the plebeians as follows:—'Once upon a time the various members of the body conspired against the belly, which, they said, did nothing but enjoy itself. "We will not convey food to it any more," said the hands; "and I will not let it in," said the mouth; "and we will not chew it," said the teeth. So they all ceased to work, and the belly got no meat. But they soon found out their mistake; for, in starving the belly, they made the whole body weak and ill. The belly is of some use after all, they then said, and began to work again.' Accompanied as it was with somewhat liberal offers on the part of the patricians, this allegory produced a visible effect; and at length a treaty was concluded and solemnly sworn to between the two orders. By this treaty all the existing debts of the plebeians were cancelled, and all who were then in slavery on account of past debts were declared free. No alteration, however, was made in the law of debt itself—the cause of all the evil; and no addition was made to the legislative power of the plebeians.

113. One privilege of a civil nature, the vast importance of which could not have been foreseen, was yielded on this occasion to the plebeians. This was the institution of the office of tribunes of the common people. It will be remembered that when the commonalty were divided into thirty tribes or parishes by Servius Tullius, there was appointed in each a chief magistrate, or rather convener, called a tribune. The reduction of the number of tribes from thirty to twenty had been attended with a corresponding reduction of the number of tribunes. Under the law of Publicola, which conferred on the plebeians the right of appeal from the sentence of the consul to the tribes, the tribunes came to be regarded as the natural protectors of the

appealing party. In the exercise of this power, they had doubtless experienced insult from the patricians. To prevent this in future, and to make the law of Publicola a real, instead of a merely nominal protection to the plebeians against consular oppression, it was agreed that two of the twenty tribunes should be invested with the special title of *Tribunes of the common people*. Whosoever should kill or lay violent hands on a tribune was to be held *accursed*, and his property forfeited to the temple of Ceres. The doors of the tribunes' houses were to be open day and night, that any one who required protection might find it. The tribunes, who were to be of the plebeian order, were to be elected by the centuries, and the election was not to be deemed conclusive until it had been ratified by the curies. Under the tribunes there were to be elected annually two registrars, or police-clerks, called *Ædiles*.

114. Having obtained these concessions from the patricians, the plebeian soldiery, after a solemn sacrifice to Jupiter, quitted the hill on which they were encamped, and which was ever afterwards called *Mons Sacer*, or the Sacred Mount, and returned to the city. The date of this secession of the commons, so famous in Roman history, was the year of the city 261, seventeen years after the expulsion of the kings, and before Christ 493.

115. During the following seven years, Rome enjoyed tolerable repose. The Volscians, however, continued to threaten the Latin frontier; and as nothing had been done for the permanent amelioration of the commons, their distresses began again to accumulate. Both these dangers were met by Spurius Cassius, who, in the year of the city 268, was elevated to the consulship for the third time. He concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Hernicans, a people of the same Sabine or Sabellian origin as the Volscians; but who, from their inland situation immediately south of the Anio, were much exposed to the Volscian attacks. By granting them similar terms to those which he had granted the Latins seven years before, Spurius attached them cordially to Rome. In this manner the Commonwealth, so shattered and weakened by the loss of her territories, became again powerful—no

longer, indeed, as under the Tarquinii, the centre of a large dependent domain, but the ruling member of the triple confederacy of Romans, Latins, and Hernicans.

116. The amelioration of the condition of the commons was a difficult task for a man invested but with a single year's authority. Spurius, however, did not shrink from the attempt. Adopting the only plan possible, in the circumstances in which the Roman state then stood, he proposed an *Agrarian Law*—that is, a law for dividing a part of the unallotted public or state lands among the distressed plebeians. To the plebeians this proposal was exceedingly agreeable; not so, however, to the patricians, who possessed the right of occupying and farming as much of the public land as they chose, but lost that right from the moment that the land was divided. The law of Spurius Cassius was obnoxious to them also for this additional reason, that it proposed to exact a more punctual payment of the tithes which they owed the state for the occupied lands, with a view to constituting thereby a fund for paying the plebeians for their military service. Accordingly, it was with the utmost reluctance, and with secret purposes of vengeance against the man who was thus betraying, as they said, the interests of his order, that they suffered the law to pass. Spurius might have foreseen, and possibly did foresee, the consequences of his magnanimous conduct. Scarcely was the year of his consulship over, when the two quæstors, or public accusers, Kæso Fabius, the brother of one of the new consuls, and Lucius Valerius, charged him before the comitia curiata with the crime of high treason. His leagues with the Latins and Hernicans were represented as derogatory to old Roman greatness, and his lifelong efforts for the good of the Commonwealth were construed into a design to make himself king. He was found guilty, and suffered death in the customary form, being first scourged, and then beheaded; and his house was razed to the ground. Thus perished Spurius Cassius, one of the noblest men of early Rome. No song was made in his honour by the plebeians for whom he laboured, and it was left for modern research to do justice to his merits.

117. The death of Spurius Cassius was followed by a

reaction in favour of the patricians. Not only did they refuse to put the agrarian law into execution; but, as if in retaliation for their recent defeat, they transferred the right of electing the consuls themselves to the comitia curiata, allowing to the centuries the mere right of acceptance. In vain did the plebeians protest against this usurpation, and refuse the consuls nominated by the patricians. For four years—that is, from 269 to 272 inclusive—the patricians persisted in choosing both consuls, assisted probably by their clients, who were sufficiently numerous to constitute a meeting of the centuries for all the purposes of form. During these four and three subsequent years, one of the consuls always belonged to the Fabian house or gens—a circumstance which seems to imply that the Fabii were the leaders of the patrician faction. In this emergency, the plebeians naturally looked to the tribunes as the champions of their order. As, however, the tribunes were elected by the centuries, the influence of the patricians and clients tended to prevent the choice of men of a sufficiently bold spirit. Caius Menius, indeed, one of the tribunes of the year 271, made an attempt to screen from punishment those plebeians who, to show their indignation against the patricians, refused to serve as soldiery against the Etruscans of Veii. In consequence, however, of the vigorous procedure of the consuls, who immediately punished the refractory citizens, by burning their houses, and laying waste their lands, the interference of Menius was not immediately successful.

118. In the following year, the patricians conceded to the centuries the right of electing one of the consuls; but, to render the privilege useless, they sought to keep them continually in the field. To oppose this intention, as well as to compel the execution of the agrarian law, the plebeians, no longer refusing to serve as soldiers, resorted to another plan, than which nothing could more strikingly indicate their obstinacy—they suffered themselves to be beaten by the enemy. This was more than the patricians could bear. The Fabii, especially, among whom there were many generous and honourable men, were so deeply affected, that in the year 274 all the members of their

house went over to the popular side. Yet in the year 275, when the centuries chose Titus Virginius, the burghers gave him for his colleague Kæso Fabius, who, seven years before, had been the accuser of Spurius Cassius, and who had been twice consul during the interval. In this his third consulship, however, he stood forth as the champion of the commons, and demanded the execution of the agrarian law. The patricians were astonished. 'Kæso has lost his senses,' they said; 'he is drunk with the applauses of the mob.' The consul, however, was in earnest; and when he found that he could not carry his point, he and the whole Fabian house, with the exception of one individual, resolved to quit the city with their wives, children, and clients, and plant a little colony on the Cremera, a stream which falls into the Tiber on the Etruscan side, a few miles from Rome. Accordingly, on the ides of February, in the year of the city 275, the Fabii left their dwellings on the Quirinal Hill, and marched out in long procession at the Carmental Gate, followed by the blessings of the people. Having founded their little settlement, they continued for two years to be useful as an advanced-guard on the Etruscan frontier; but in the year 277, they were surprised and exterminated by a detachment of Vejentians—a disaster long held in remembrance by the Romans, who from that day would never begin an enterprise on the ides of February, nor go out of the city by the unlucky Carmental Gate, whose gloomy archway seemed still to echo at night with the tread of the doomed Fabii.

119. The execution of the agrarian law continued to be demanded by the plebeians, and to be evaded or refused by the patricians. At length Lucius Furius and Caius Manlius, the consuls for the year 280, having, like their predecessors, turned a deaf ear to the often-repeated petition, were, on the expiry of their office, solemnly impeached by Cneius Genucius, one of the tribunes. This was a bold step; for, according to the ancient international law, when two communities were bound together by a treaty, as the populus and plebs were by their agreement on the Sacred Mount, the right of trying offenders against the treaty belonged not to the community of which the offender was a

member, but to the other. The patricians were reduced to a dilemma. Time passed; the day fixed for the trial arrived; the commons assembled early in the Forum, and were waiting to see how their bold tribune, Genucius, would conduct himself; when, oh, horror! the news spread that Genucius had been murdered in his bed.

120. The commons fled in alarm from the Forum. The consuls, taking advantage of the panic, hastily ordered a levy against the Volscians. Among those called out was Publilius Volero, a man of great strength, who had formerly served as a centurion. Being called to serve as a common soldier, he refused. The lictors came to seize him; he flung them from him, and rushed among the people, who protected him, and raised such a tumult, that the patricians were obliged to desist from the levy. The following year Volero was chosen one of the tribunes, who were now five in number, although it cannot be ascertained precisely when this increase took place. Not long after his election, Volero proposed to the commons a law for transferring the election of the tribunes from the centuries—where the patricians, through their own votes and those of their clients, exerted so great an influence—to the tribes, where none but the plebeians voted. Although, before the motion could become law, it required to be ratified by the senate and curies, the patricians resolved to prevent its passage through the tribes. Now, as the tribes met only once in eight days, and as it was the rule that if a debate did not terminate before sunset, the proposition which was the subject of it could not be brought forward again except after an interval of three weeks, the plan which the patricians adopted was to assemble with their clients in the Forum along with the plebeians on the days of debate, and endeavour, by every possible interruption, to prevent the vote from being taken before sunset. By this means they succeeded in protracting the motion for a whole year.

121. Next year, however (283), Volero was re-elected tribune, and one of his colleagues was a man of kindred spirit, Caius Lætorius. To thwart these, Appius Claudius was chosen consul by the burghers; his colleague, chosen by the centuries, was Titus Quintius. The struggle now became

desperate. Lætorius, the new tribune, added two motions to the former one of Volero—one vesting the election of the ædiles in the tribes, the other empowering the tribes to discuss questions affecting the whole commonwealth. 'Come to this place, Romans, next day of meeting; I swear that I will either carry these motions, or die in your presence.' Such were the words of Lætorius. As usual, the Forum was filled on the day appointed by groups of patricians and their clients, who purposely impeded the business. At length the evening approached. 'I order all, except those who are about to vote, to withdraw,' said Lætorius. The patricians and their clients refused to move: in the front of them, with contemptuous lip, stood the consul Appius Claudius. The *viatores*, or officers of the tribe meetings, approached to clear the ground. 'Lictors,' said the consul, 'seize the tribune.' 'Viatores,' thundered Lætorius, 'arrest Appius Claudius.' In an instant the Forum was one scene of uproar: the plebeians were the stronger; the clients fled; the lictors had their fasces broken over their backs; and the patricians retired to the senate-house, dragging with them their enraged consul. 'To the Capitol,' shouted the victorious plebeians. The proposal was the best that could have been made; for to seize the citadel in an ancient town was to declare a revolution. Alarmed by this demonstration, the patricians yielded all; the propositions of Volero and Lætorius were hurried through the senate and curies, and the commons left the Capitol, contented in the meantime with the advantages which they had gained, but inspired with a courage which would evidently lead to still more extensive demands.

CHAPTER II.

ÆQUIAN AND VOLSCIAN WARS—THE DECEMVIRS AND THEIR LAWS—CONQUEST OF VEII, B.C. 471-390.—Y. R. 283-364.

122. Allusion has been made in the preceding chapter to the harassing wars in which Rome was involved with

the Æquian and Volscian nations on the one side, and the Etruscans of Veii on the other, at the time when the disputes between the patricians and the plebeians were in progress. Fortunately, however, by a truce for forty years—concluded with Veii in the year 280—Rome was freed from the fear of attack from that quarter, and was enabled to turn her whole strength against the growing power of the Æquians and Volscians. The first expedition after the recent triumph of the commons was against these enemies: the consul, Appius Claudius, marched against the Volscians, his colleague against the Æquians. The soldiers of the former behaved ill, and fled. His proud stern spirit could not brook this defeat; and as soon as he reached the Roman territory, he put to death every centurion, and one common soldier out of every ten. Not for this act of discipline, which the national spirit could not condemn, however shocking its severity, but for his general hostility to the interests of the commons, Appius was impeached by the tribunes as soon as his year of office had expired. Haughty, stately, aristocratic to the last, he faced his judges with contempt; would ask no mercy; but having been thrown into prison to wait his trial, died—a suicide.

123. For ten years, or from 285 to 295, the war against the Æquians and Volscians was continued. Assisted by the Sabines, who made several plundering incursions into the Roman territory, these formidable foes gained great advantages. Latium was overrun, many of her cities were taken, and a way was laid open through her fields almost to the Roman frontier. The dangers to which the state was exposed at this period form the subject of the romantic legend of Coriolanus.

124. The civil dissensions, and the alternate victories, of the patricians and the plebeians, had no doubt driven many of the citizens into exile; and probably not a few of these exiles were of the patrician party. One of them, says the legend, was a noble patrician youth, Caius Marcius, who, having in the previous war been instrumental in taking the Volscian city of Corioli by a feat of daring single-handed valour, had earned for himself the applauses of the senate, and the glorious surname of Corio-

lanus. But the youth had the heart of a patrician, and hated the commons; and when the senate, during a famine, were about to distribute among the starving people a supply of corn which they had received from Sicily, he opposed it, saying, 'No; give them no corn unless they give up their tribunes, and become subject to us, as their fathers were.' Hearing what he had said, the people would have torn him in pieces; and to avoid their fury, he fled from the city, and became the guest of Attius Tullius, the king of the Volscians. When, therefore, the war broke out again between the Romans and the Volscians, he led the latter against his countrymen, sharing the command with their king; and it was he, and not Attius, who gained all the victories, and took all the Latin towns; for who but a Roman could conquer Romans? Onward the Volscians marched, burning, by the command of Coriolanus, the houses and fields of the commons, but sparing those of the burghers. Already they were only five miles from Rome; and the citizens, seeing the gleam of their arms, and the smoke of the burning villages, were wringing their hands in despair. 'Oh that we had not banished Coriolanus!' was the saying of all. Hastily, senate, curies, and tribes met and passed a decree restoring him to his civic rights. Five of the chief senators carried the decree to the enemy's camp; but Coriolanus refused to make peace unless all the lands which had formerly belonged to the Volscians were restored to them, and the Volscians made citizens of Rome. Thirty days were allowed to the Romans to deliberate on these hard terms; and during that period they sought to move their stern countryman by intreaties. First they sent the ten foremost of the senate, but these he drove from the camp; next came the augurs, the flamens, and all the priests in their holy robes, but neither would he listen to them; and at last, when hope failed, Volumnia, his aged mother, Virgilia, his wife, his little children, and with them a great number of matrons and maidens, came to implore him. When Coriolanus saw his mother, whom he loved, he ran forward, and was about to fall on her neck and kiss her. But she drew back, saying, 'Tell me, first, art thou my enemy or my son?

Oh, hard fate, that, if I had remained childless, Rome would have never been enslaved!' And she, and Virgilia, and the little children, and all that were with them, wept. This was more than the heart of Coriolanus could endure; and he ran and clasped his mother, crying, 'Oh, mother, thou hast conquered. Thou hast chosen between Rome and thy son. Happy Rome, but miserable Coriolanus!' Next day he withdrew the Volscian army; and he never saw Rome any more, but lived and died among the Volscians.

125. The peace with the Volscians alluded to in the foregoing legend was concluded in the year 295; but the war with the Æquians was protracted a year longer. To this war belongs the legend of Lucius Quinctius, called Cincinnatus, or the Curly-headed, who, when one of the consuls was shut up with his army by the Æquian chief in a valley from which there was no escape, was called from his farm to the dictatorship; and after having defeated the enemy, and made them pass under the yoke, laid down his office, and returned to his farm, amid the blessings of the people.

126. Turning from these foreign contests, let us pursue the internal history of the Commonwealth. Harassed by the Æquian and Volscian wars, and by a pestilence, which carried off immense numbers of the poorer classes and slaves, at no time had Rome been reduced to so low an ebb as towards the end of the third century of her existence. Yet not even then were the commons idle. They had more than once reiterated their demand for the execution of the agrarian law; they had passed a resolution, called, from the name of its proposer, the Icilian Law, by which it was declared lawful to bring to trial any burgher who should interrupt the proceedings of the tribes; and finally, in the year 292, one of the tribunes, named Caius Terentilius Harsa, had made a proposal for a complete revision of the constitution, with a view to place plebeians and patricians on a footing of civil equality. It was not desirable, said Terentilius, that the old distinction between the populus and the plebs, which had originated in conquest, should be kept up, now that the interests of both were the same;

let, therefore, a complete union between the two orders take place, or at least let the obstacle to such a union, arising from the prohibition of intermarriage, be removed; let there be thenceforward one law for patricians and plebeians; and finally, let some more limited form of supreme magistracy be substituted for the consulship. To carry out these extensive reforms, it was proposed to appoint ten commissioners—five of them patricians, and five plebeians—to prepare a new constitution.

127. Resolute was the opposition of the patricians. Every market-day they raised a riot in the Forum. The plebeians at length resolved to make an example of one of the most disorderly of their opponents among the young patricians—Kæso Quintius, the son of Cincinnatus. He was impeached according to the Icilian law; and would probably have appeared to take his trial, had not a more serious charge been preferred against him in the meantime, which obliged him to flee into Etruria. Not long afterwards he was killed at the head of a band of exiles and slaves, who, having effected an entrance into the city, and seized the Capitol during the night, were next day attacked and put to the sword.

128. Year after year the tribunes were re-elected; and every year the Terentilian law was brought forward. Riots and assassinations were of daily occurrence. It was evident, however, that the power of the commons was on the increase. In 297, the number of the tribunes was increased to ten; and in the following year, one of them, Lucius Icilius, proposed a measure of sufficient importance to cast the Terentilian law in the meantime into the shade. This was a law for assigning the whole of the Aventine Hill to the commons as their exclusive and perpetual property, giving a fair compensation to those patrician proprietors whose interests would be affected. The Aventine had long been the plebeian quarter of the town, and these were particularly desirous to have it secured against the encroachment of patricians. Instead, however, of making the law a subject of discussion in the Forum, Icilius presented it at once for the consideration of the senate, demanding to be heard in its behalf. This privilege

having been granted, the law passed more easily than might have been expected; and, in haste to avail themselves of it, the plebeians began to raise houses of several storeys high on the Aventine.

129. The Terentilian law, however, was not abandoned; and at length, in 301, the patricians consented to send three commissioners into Greece, to collect such information regarding the laws and political customs of the various Greek states as might be useful in the proposed work of revising the Roman constitution. When the commissioners returned, after a year's absence, the tribunes renewed their importunities. Still the patricians resisted; and it was only after the plebeians had agreed to allow all the ten commissioners to be patricians, that the opposition vanished, and the law was passed. Thus, in Y. R. 303, after a struggle of ten years, was created the famous FIRST DECEMVIRATE, who were to constitute a board of supreme magistracy, governing by turns of a day each, and superseding for the time all the other magistrates, not even excepting the tribunes. While thus exercising the functions of an interim-government, they were to make it their principal business to prepare a new civil and political constitution. In expectation of the result, the people cheerfully laid aside all their animosities and disputes.

130. The decemvirs set about their important task with great conscientiousness and zeal, taking as their guides the existing laws and usages of the Romans, the information which the commissioners had collected, and the explanations and suggestions of Hermodorus of Ephesus, a Greek then residing in Rome. After a few months, they submitted to the criticism of the public ten tables of laws, which, after some trifling amendments, were duly ratified by the senate, the centuries, and the curies. These ten tables, with two which were added in the following year, continued for ever to be regarded as the foundation of the Roman law. They were partly a digest, and partly a modification, of the ancient laws which had existed from the times of the early kings: the alterations were in general on the side of justice and humanity, although some of the worst parts of the ancient code were suffered to remain—as,

for instance, the prohibition of legal intermarriage between patricians and plebeians; and the terrible law of debt, the only alleviation in which was, that the rate of interest was regulated.

131. The constitutional changes, however, were the most important. In the first place, a complete union was effected of all the classes of the state, by incorporating the patricians and their clients with the already existing plebeian tribes or parishes, and thus constituting the *Comitia Tributa*, or Meeting of the Tribes—an assembly of the whole nation, instead of a mere plebeian congress, as it had hitherto been. The senate, the comitia curiata, and the comitia centuriata, were left unchanged, except that in the two former the distinction hitherto maintained between the greater and the lesser houses was abolished, and that now for the first time was conferred on the centuries the right of trying capital cases, and of finally deciding in all cases whatever. Thus both the comitia centuriata and the comitia tributa came to be assemblies of the whole people, only in a different manner, and for different purposes. As regards the supreme magistracy, a great alteration took place. The consulship was abolished, and in its place was substituted an annual *Decemvirate*, or Board of Ten. Half of the decemvirs were to be patricians, and the other half plebeians; and, serving in different functions, they were to share among them the sovereign power of the state. Such was the famous revolution effected by the first decemvirs. Its greatest merit was, that it virtually annihilated the distinction between populus and plebs, and secured a more equal administration of justice. The form of government, however, which it set up was not destined to be of long duration.

132. When the time for re-electing the decemvirs arrived, the patricians made great exertions to secure the election of men friendly to their order, and especially to exclude Appius Claudius, the son of the consul of that name, but who had reversed the usual policy of his family, and attached himself more to the popular cause. Appius, however, was re-elected by the plebeian votes, and with him were chosen four other patricians. Scarcely had

the new Board entered on their office in March 304, when it was found that little good was to be expected from them; and before the end of the year, they were detested. The plebeians, who had now no longer tribunes to protect them, suffered from their tyranny, and felt themselves peculiarly aggrieved by the addition of two new tables of laws to the ten passed in the previous year—the two additional tables containing clauses quite contradictory to the spirit of the others. The patricians, on the other hand, delighted at so unexpectedly finding allies in the popularly-elected decemvirs, supported them with all their influence; and no man was a greater favourite with them than Appius Claudius, who, as he had been the soul of the popular cause in the first decemvirate, was now the soul of the opposite cause in the second. A party of the patricians, however, at the head of which were Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, took part with the people against the decemvirs. An unexpected incident gave this party the victory.

133. Early in the year 305, the Æquians and Sabines renewed their hostilities against the Romans. Eight of the decemvirs took the field against this formidable enemy, and Appius Claudius and Spurius Oppius alone remained in charge of the city. The former resolved not to let slip the opportunity of carrying into effect an outrage which he had long meditated. The beauty of the young Virginia, the daughter of the brave centurion Virginius, and the affianced bride of Icilius the tribune, who had proposed and carried the famous law for the appropriation of the Aventine Hill, had struck the eye of Appius; and now that her father was absent in the camp, it seemed easy to obtain her by force? Instructed by the decemvir, Marcus Claudius, one of his clients, seized the girl in the street as she was on her way to school, accompanied by her nurse. 'She is my slave,' said Claudius to the crowd which the girl's screams assembled; 'I am ready to prove it before the decemvir.' The people, not daring to rescue the girl, accompanied her to the comitium, where Appius was administering justice. There Claudius repeated his claim. Virginia, he said, was not the daughter of Virginius; she

was the child of one of his own female slaves, whom the childless wife of Virginius had procured immediately after birth, and imposed on her husband. 'This I have just learned,' said Claudius; 'and I claim the girl as my property.' The spectators took the girl's part. 'Virginius is absent on his country's service,' they said; 'let him be sent for, and let the case wait till he return. The law is, that every person shall be treated as free until the contrary is proved.' 'Such is the law,' said Appius, 'and I am myself the author of it; but as in this case the father is absent, who alone can claim the daughter on the other side, she must go with Claudius, who is the other claimant, and who will give bail that he will present her when the case shall come to be tried.' At this critical moment Numitorious, the girl's uncle, and Icilius, her betrothed lover, arrived; and Appius, afraid to persist in his unjust sentence, deferred the case till next day.

134. A messenger sent by Icilius to the camp at Fidenæ made the greatest possible haste; and before the other messenger sent by Appius, with instructions to detain Virginius, arrived, the brave centurion was already far on his way to Rome, where daughter, uncle, and lover, were expecting him with anxiety. On the morrow there was a great crowd in the Forum, and when Virginius appeared, leading his daughter by the hand, and accompanied by his friends, all the people murmured, especially the women, who had assembled in unusual numbers to see a sight so interesting to mothers. The client repeated his infamous demand, reproaching the decemvir for not having done him justice yesterday. 'I adjudge the girl,' said Appius, scarcely hearing him out, 'to her master Claudius.' Loud denunciations rose from the crowd; Virginius, Numitorius, and Icilius threatened the decemvir, and called to the people to assist them; Claudius, approaching to seize the maiden, was struck, and thrown back. 'A conspiracy!' cried Appius: 'lictors, disperse the mob, and seize the girl.' Overawed by the words, and by the sight of the armed lictors, the people gave way. Then seeing that there was no hope, the wretched father dissembled, and said, 'Let me speak a word with the nurse in the girl's hearing, that

I may learn whether she is indeed my daughter or no.' Leave having been given, Virginius, talking with his daughter, drew her imperceptibly towards a butcher's stall close by, from which seizing a knife, he plunged it into her heart. 'The only way left,' he cried, 'to save thy honour!' Then turning to the decemvir, 'On thee and thine,' he cried, 'be the curse of this blood!' With these words, holding the bloody knife aloft, and urging his way through the crowd, the frantic man fled from the city towards the camp. The crowd shrieked for vengeance; the lictors were overborne; Appius fled; Icilius, Numitorius, and the two patricians, Valerius and Horatius, placed themselves at the head of the insurrection. 'Abdicate, abdicate!' and 'Down with the decemvirs!' were the popular cries.

135. Reinforced by the army who marched to Rome as soon as the news reached them of what had happened, the insurgents occupied the Aventine; and again the city was a scene of uproar. At length, as the patrician party still hesitated to comply with the demand for the deposition of the decemvirs, the insurgents, by the advice of a bold man, Marcus Duilius, adopted that policy which had been so efficacious on a former memorable occasion—they quitted the city in a body, and encamped on the Sacred Mount. Alarmed by this demonstration, the senators yielded, and granted the demands of the commons—namely, the deposition of the decemvirs; the re-establishment of the tribuneship and of the right of appeal; and a general indemnity to all concerned in the insurrection.

136. Satisfied with these concessions, the commons returned to the city, where their first act was to elect ten tribunes, among whom were Virginius, Icilius, Numitorius, and Duilius. They also required the patricians to hold an immediate meeting of the centuries for the election of two consuls in the room of the deposed decemvirs. This was done; and the two popular patricians, Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, were chosen. In their case was the title of *Consul* first used; their predecessors before the decemvirs had been called *Prætors*. In their election, it will be observed the plebeians gained a step, by securing the choice of *both* members of the consulship to the centuries.

137. The consulship of Valerius and Horatius in the year of the city 305-6 was fertile in important occurrences. Under their auspices a number of new laws were passed, of which the following were the most prominent:—1st, A law of Valerius, conferring on a *plebiscitum*, or resolution of the tribes, the same consequence as belonged to a resolution of the centuries—that is, allowing it to become a law of the land on receiving the sanction of the patricians; 2d, Another law of Valerius, declaring accursed any person who should procure the creation of a magistrate without appeal—a provision, however, from which the dictatorship must have been excepted; 3d, A law of Horatius, declaring the inviolability of every plebeian magistrate, whether tribune, ædile, or any other; and declaring accursed whomsoever should kill any of these magistrates; 4th, A law for intrusting to the keeping of the plebeian ædiles a copy of all the decrees passed by the senate; and 5th, A law of the tribune Duilius enlarging the foregoing one of Valerius, by denouncing death at the stake against any magistrate who should neglect to procure the election of the tribunes at the proper time, or who should create a new magistrate without appeal.

138. These laws having been passed, the guilty decemvirs, Appius Claudius and Spurius Oppius, were impeached—the former by Virginius, on the ground that, 'contrary to law, he had treated Virginia as a slave before she had been proved to be such;' and the latter by Numitorius, because, although present in the city at the time, he had not opposed the unjust procedure of his colleague. Lest Appius should escape before his trial, Virginius cast him into prison; and there he died, as is believed, by his own hands. Oppius likewise committed suicide. The other decemvirs, together with the guilty client, Marcus Claudius, were suffered to go into exile; but their property was confiscated and sold. The claims of justice having thus been satisfied, it was announced that there should be no more prosecutions for crimes committed during the decemvirate.

139. The patricians, galled by their recent defeat, refused the honour of a triumph to the two popular consuls for their successes against the Sabines and the Æquians. The in-

sulted consuls calling a meeting of the centuries, received from them, on the motion of the tribune Icilius, the triumph which the senate had refused. During the remainder, however, of the consulship of Valerius and Horatius, the reaction was so decided, that no definite arrangement could be made relative to the future constitution—whether the consulship should be continued, or whether a magistracy similar to the decemvirate should be again tried. When, therefore, the period of election drew near, preparations were made, as a matter of course, for the choice of two new consuls, and ten new tribunes of the people. The general wish was, that the consuls and tribunes then in office should be re-elected; but this proposal was strenuously resisted by the patrician party, and also, on principle, by the tribune Duilius, who, presiding at the election of the new tribunes, refused to receive any votes for himself or for any of his colleagues. The consequence was, that only five tribunes were elected; and these, exercising the right which Duilius asserted that in the circumstances they possessed, chose five others, all of whom were patricians, to be their colleagues. The election a few days afterwards of two patrician consuls increased the triumph of that party, and restored to them the preponderance in the state.

140. During the years 307, 308, and 309, much violence in word and deed was committed on both sides; but little progress was made by the plebeians towards recovering the power which they had lost. In 310, however, nine of the tribunes brought forward a bill, enacting that in future one of the consuls should always be a plebeian; and one of the nine, named Caius Canuleius, at the same time proposed a law for authorising marriages between patricians and plebeians. Such marriages had at all times been frequent, but they were not recognised as equal in law to marriages between persons of the same order. At length, after the usual turmoil and contention, the proposal of Canuleius was carried. Canuleius likewise obtained for himself and his colleagues the privilege of being present during the debates of the senate, and of taking part in them without liberty

to vote; and thenceforward the tribunes had seats assigned them in the senate-house.

141. The contest for the admission of plebeians to the consulship ended in a compromise between the two orders, by which a new constitution, known as the constitution of the year 311, was substituted for the one then existing. By this constitution the supreme magistracy, which had been vested in the decemviral board, was resolved into three component parts—the Censorship, the Quæstorship, and the Military Tribunate, with consular powers. The *censors* were to be two in number, chosen for a period of five years; they were both to be patricians, and their election was to lie with the patrician curies, subject to the confirmation of the centuries. The ostensible duties of these officers were 'the administration of the revenues of the republic in the capacity of an exchequer-chamber and a board of works;' but in reality their power was enormous. They were intrusted with the task of drawing up lists of all the citizens distributed according to their various ranks; and of revising the returns made by individuals of their property, and determining how much of it was taxable, and at what rate. Nor were the censors restricted to the decision of mere questions of fact—as, for instance, whether an individual came within the law's description of a senator or a knight, or whether the returns of his property were correct. They had the power also of deciding whether the individual was *worthy* of the senatorial or knightly rank; and they could fix at their discretion what proportion of an individual's property should be taxed. Hence, to watch over the conduct of the citizens, and to degrade such senators or knights as led a profligate life, became part of the understood duty of the censors. Conscientious censors, if they were sensible men, might no doubt perform the duty with advantage to the state; but it is evident that, in the exercise of so arbitrary a power, there was much room for abuse. It was therefore a dexterous stroke in the patricians to invent such an office as the censorship, and secure it for their own order. With regard to the two *quæstors* also, whose office it was to act as paymasters of the army, and keep the public accounts, the

patricians gained the advantage, in securing that both should be patricians, elected by the centuries. The only concession made to the plebeians was with regard to the third department of the supreme magistracy—the *military tribunate*, concerning which the patricians made the following proposal to them:—'We give you your choice of two plans: either let consuls be chosen, as hitherto, by the centuries, both of them patricians; or let a new office be instituted, called the military tribunate, somewhat inferior in dignity to the consulship, and consisting of an indefinite number of persons chosen by the centuries from either order indiscriminately.' The commons chose the latter; and accordingly, in the year 311, three military tribunes were elected, one of whom was a plebeian. Scarcely three months, however, had elapsed, when the patricians, tired of the tribunate, and pretending some informality in the election, resorted to the device of appointing a dictator, who, superseding the existing magistracy, ordered the election of two consuls as before.

142. From the year 311 to the year 350 was a period of incessant agitation on the part of the plebeians, of incessant opposition on the part of the patricians, of incessant shifting between the consulship and the military tribunate, according as the patrician or the plebeian party was the stronger. The following are the steps of the progress made by the plebeians during this period:—In the year 321, Mamercus Æmilius having been appointed dictator, to repel a threatened Etruscan invasion, limited the duration of the censorship to eighteen months, thus leaving the office in abeyance during three years and a-half out of every five—a reform for which the censors took their revenge, by degrading Æmilius from his tribe, and taxing his property at eight times its value. In 328, the tribunes threatening to prevent the levying of soldiers for a war against Veii, unless the question of the war were first referred to the centuries, gained their point, and thus transferred to the whole people the momentous power, hitherto monopolised by the patricians, of deliberating on peace and war. In 334, the patricians, wishing to increase the number of the quæstors from two to four, were obliged to concede that

in future these officers should be chosen indiscriminately from either order—a concession which was all the more important, that the quæstors had seats in the senate. In 337, an agrarian law was passed, after much opposition, allotting portions of the land acquired in recent wars to a number of the poorest plebeian families. In 346, there were unexpectedly elected three plebeian quæstors. But perhaps the greatest advance made by the commons was in 350, when a truce of twenty years which had been concluded with the Vejentes having terminated, they refused to renew the war unless pay were given to the troops. It was accordingly agreed that, instead of the partial pay hitherto given to certain classes of the army, all who served should receive regular wages, at the rate of 3⅓ ases a-day to a common soldier; the funds to be derived partly from the *vectigal*, or the tithes paid by the patrician occupants of the public land, and partly from a *tributum*, or direct property-tax on all classes. At the same time it was arranged that, in future, the number of the military tribunes should be six, five of whom were to be eligible from either order.

143. These forty years, twenty of which had been consulships, and twenty military tribunates, with as many as eight interruptions by dictatorships, were not wanting in events of national importance distinct from those relating to the struggle between the patricians and the plebeians. In 315 there was a famine; in 319 there were terrible earthquakes; and in 322, and other years, Rome suffered from a dreadful pestilence which ravaged all Italy. Frequent military expeditions were also undertaken, sometimes against a revolted Roman colony in the neighbourhood, sometimes against those troublesome enemies the Æquians, the Volscians, and the Etruscans. Omitting, however, details which would be uninteresting, and merely premising that the success of the Roman arms against the Æquians and Volscians had been such as to drive them back to the extreme frontier of Latium, and so extend the Roman territory on that side to its ancient limits, we hasten to the great war against the Etruscan city of Veii.

144. This war was begun in 350: two years were spent

in mere excursions for the purpose of ravaging the country round Veii; but in 352 the city itself was besieged. For seven years little progress was made, and the besiegers were principally occupied in defeating the attempts which some of the other Etruscan states, especially the Faliscans and the Capenates, made to relieve Veii, in whose fall they foresaw the removal of the bulwark between Rome and Etruria. As the commons complained much of the expensiveness of the war, the patricians were glad to purchase their assistance by political concessions. Accordingly, in the years 355 and 356, as many as four out of the six military tribunes were plebeians; in 357 and 358 a reaction took place, and all the six were patricians; but again, in 359, four plebeians were elected. These colleges of military tribunes, however, were found incompetent to conduct a war with sufficient activity; and in 359 the Romans, enraged by a defeat which they had sustained from the Faliscans and Capenates, adopted their favourite course in such emergencies, and appointed a dictator. The individual chosen was Marcus Furius Camillus, the recognised leader of the high patrician party, and already distinguished for his services in one censorship and two tribunates. The subsequent narrative of the siege of Veii is evidently part of a legend or epic poem in honour of Camillus, and although it doubtless embodies many authentic particulars, it is not to be received as veracious history.

145. While the siege of Veii was proceeding, says the legend, the waters of the Alban lake in Latium overflowed without any visible cause; and the Romans, wondering at so unusual an occurrence, sent to the oracle of Delphi to inquire what it portended. By the oracle they were informed that so long as the waters continued to overflow, Veii could not be taken. Whereupon they sent workmen, who, with incredible labour, dug a passage through the side of the hill, through which the water escaped into channels in the plain below, so that the lake again sank to its usual level. Then the Veientes, cunning in augury, knew that their hour was come; and with gloomy forebodings they saw Camillus come to press the siege. He divided his

army into six parts, and these he kept working in turns of six hours each, digging a secret passage under ground beneath the walls, in such a direction as to terminate within the citadel, exactly under the floor of the temple of Juno. At length, on an appointed day, Camillus gave the signal for a false attack on various parts of the town, while he himself, at the head of a chosen band, entered the secret passage. Arrived at its termination, and crouching in the dark amid the loose earth, while his followers were groping their way behind him, Camillus heard the tread of feet and the sound of voices overhead. It was the king of the Veientes offering sacrifice to Juno for the safety of the city. Camillus listening, heard the Etruscan augur who was with the king use these words: 'A happy omen, oh, king! the gods announce that whosoever offers this victim shall win the day.' Camillus heard no more; but striking and wrenching with all his might, he burst through the thin flooring above him, and bounding into the temple, snatched the entrails of the sacrifice from the hands of the terror-struck priests. The edifice was soon filled with his followers, who, while Camillus offered the victim, rushed to the gates, and let in the whole army. Thus Veii fell, and Camillus, from the top of the citadel, saw his soldiers sacking the city; and as he stood looking down on so terrible a scene, his face flushed, and he exclaimed, 'Oh! was ever man's fortune so great as mine?' Then his own words made him afraid, for he remembered that the gods are displeased when a mortal becomes too prosperous, and he prayed that if any disaster were to follow, it might be a light one; and turning round to the right, with the words in his mouth, his foot slipped, and he fell to the ground. Upon this he thanked the gods for answering his prayer; but when, not long afterwards, he entered in triumph into Rome, drawn to the Capitol by four white horses, like the horses of the sun, and preceded by the image of the Etruscan goddess Juno, who consented to leave Veii and reside in Rome, old men shook their heads, and said, 'Pride goeth before a fall.'

146. Veii being a large and fine city, the tribunes of the people proposed that a part of the Roman populus and

plebs should be transferred to it, so as to make it a second Rome. The patricians, however, contended that such a step would be fatal to the unity of the republic, and proposed only to plant a colony in Veii, dependent on the mother city, incorporating the Vejentian territory, as usual, with the public domain. For two years the question was debated with great acrimony; fortunately, however, for the career of Rome, the counsel of the patricians prevailed; and in the year 362, the proposal to remove a part of the population to Veii was negatived by a majority of one tribe. The senate immediately evinced its gratitude, by decreeing a division of the Vejentine territory among the commons, at the rate of seven jugera to every free person. This liberality so pleased the commons, that they appear to have borne more patiently than they would otherwise have done five successive years of patrician rule—namely, from 360 to 364 inclusive.

147. The fall of Veii added to the Roman territory a large tract of Etruria, extending from the mouth of the Tiber to nearly thirteen miles above Rome; and the submission of other Etruscan states and towns immediately afterwards, still farther aggrandised the power of the state north of the Tiber. Never since the beginning of her existence had Rome been so great. But, alas! at this very moment a power of evil was in preparation, which was to hurl her back, and all but destroy her. And, as if to make the reverse of fortune more striking, it began with Camillus. Unpopular for his haughty manners and high patrician principles, and doubly disliked at the present moment for having caused the people to refund a portion of the spoils of Veii, in order, as he said, that he might fulfil a vow which he had made to Apollo of a tithe of all the wealth of the city, he was, in the year 364, publicly impeached by Appuleius, one of the tribunes of the commons, for having embezzled part of the plunder in question. Some doors of brass were found in his house; his own clients, although they offered to pay his fine, would not acquit him; in short, his guilt was clearly proved; and Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, the greatest man in Rome, fled, degraded and disgraced. As he left the city gates,

says tradition, he turned round, and stretching his hand toward heaven, prayed that Rome might soon have bitter cause to regret his loss.

CHAPTER III.

THE INVASION OF ROME BY THE GAULS.—B. C. 390-89.—Y. R. 364-5.

148. The prayer of Camillus was soon fulfilled. While he was besieging Veii, a terrible enemy were on their march into Italy, who were to make both Etruscans and Romans tremble. These were the Celts or Gauls, a barbarous people, as yet almost unknown to the civilised world, but spread over a great part of western Europe, more especially that portion of the continent which is bounded by the sea, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. This great Celtic race, the characteristics of which, then as now, were restlessness, impetuosity, and aversion to sustained labour, was divided into two main tribes or branches—the Gaels proper, of whom the modern Irish or Scottish Highlanders may be taken as the type; and the Cimbri or Kymry, represented by the modern Welsh. About the middle of the fourth century of Rome, a scarcity of provisions, or the pressure of an enemy from the north, threw the Celtic nations into commotion, and caused a general rush or migration southwards. Roving in whatever direction they found plenty, some of them descended into Spain, others pushed along the valley of the Danube; one fatal band of mixed Gaels and Cimbri came pouring across the Alps into Italy. In a few years they overran the whole valley of the Po, thenceforward called Cisalpine Gaul, ravaging and taking possession of the lands of the Ligurians, the Umbrians, the Venetians, and the northern Etruscans; and at length, in 364, a large army of them, under a leader whom the Romans named Brennus—which is probably a corruption of *Brenhin*, the Cymbric word for king—crossed the Apennines, and invaded lower Etruria. Pausing a little while before the city of Clusium, which

they found too strong to be attacked, the savage warriors, pillaging, destroying, feasting, and drinking as they marched, came thundering on towards Rome.

149. The city was one scene of panic. Hastily assembling as large a force as they could, the military tribunes marched out to meet the foe, whom they encountered on the 16th of July, at a spot about twelve miles distant from Rome, where the Alia, a small rivulet, falls into the Tiber. The battle was soon decided. The uncouth appearance of the savages—tall, half-naked, fair-skinned, and with shaggy yellow hair, their yells and screams, their bounding onset, the fearful swoop of their great broadswords—all paralysed the Romans, who fled in all directions. Many crowded back to the city; others swam the Tiber, and sought refuge in Veii.

150. Had the Gauls advanced immediately, Rome would have perished. Fortunately, they occupied themselves for two nights and a day in rioting and drinking after their victory; and this delay gave the Romans time to recover from their stupor, and make such arrangements as were possible in the circumstances. Carrying part of their property with them, and burying what could not be removed, the great mass of the population, men, women, and children, quitted the city, and sought refuge in the neighbouring towns and villages. Veii was crowded with these fugitives, and the Etruscan city of Cære afforded a retreat for the priests, the vestals, and such of the sacred images and implements as they brought with them. But while the streets were thus deserted, the Capitol was left garrisoned by as many of the choicest citizens as it could contain — about a thousand brave patricians and plebeians. All the provisions in the city were removed to the Capitol for their support, and the most valuable part of the public property was placed in their keeping. None remained in the city itself to receive the Gauls, except a few slaves and outcasts, who skulked in the streets; and, strange and affecting sight! about eighty aged priests and patricians of high rank. Resolved not to outlive the glory of Rome, these venerable fathers had devoted themselves to the gods of the lower world, repeating, after the chief

priest, a solemn prayer that, dying for the welfare of their city, they might drag down to the grave along with them the whole army of the Gauls.

151. On the second morning after the battle, the Gauls came pouring through the Colline Gate into the city. Awed by the deathlike desolation, they began to look round them in wonder. A number of them soon made their way to the Forum, where the aged patricians were seated on their ivory chairs, clothed in their robes of office, and motionless, like beings of another world. Even the barbarians were impressed, and their gleaming eyes were fixed for the moment by so imposing a spectacle. At length one of the savages, apparently doubting whether the array before him consisted of living men or statues, approached, and began gently to stroke with his hand the long white beard of the venerable Marcus Papirius. Indignant at the touch, the old man struck the Celt on the head with his ivory sceptre. The blow broke the spell, and the next moment the eighty aged patricians lay weltering in their blood. Dispersing themselves through the city, the victors began the work of pillage and conflagration.

152. In a few days the city was reduced to a blackened mass of ruins. The Gauls then broke into two divisions, one of which pursued its way southwards into the fertile regions of Italy, the other remained in the demolished city to lay siege to the Capitol. For several months, according to the usual account, the blockade of the citadel lasted, during which the brave defenders suffered much from famine, but the barbarians more from the pestilential fevers common at the season, and doubly fatal among them owing to their manner of life. Meanwhile the refugees at Veii and other places were not idle; and at length it was resolved to open up a communication with the defenders of the Capitol. A young man named Pontius Cominius undertook the dangerous mission. Swimming down the Tiber in the night-time, he climbed the Capitoline rock, delivered the message with which he was intrusted, and again descending, made his way back to Veii in safety. His foot-prints in the soil at the foot of the rock, and the torn bushes which marked the path by which he had

ascended, were seen by the Gauls, and they determined to scale the rock at this point. At the dead of night a chosen band toiled their way up the cliff hitherto deemed inaccessible. The foremost of them had nearly gained the top; all was still; not a sentinel was alarmed; not a dog barked; a few minutes more, and the Capitol would have been taken! Suddenly, however, the geese sacred to Juno, which were kept in the temple near the spot where the Gauls were ascending, were roused, and began, with the instinct of their kind, to flutter and cackle at the approach of strangers. Lying sleepless in bed in his house close by, Marcus Manlius, a Roman who had been consul two years before, heard the sound. Springing up, he rushed out of the house; reached the battlement just as the foremost Gaul was placing his foot on it; seized him by the throat, and flung him down. The shouts of Manlius awoke the garrison, and the Capitol was saved.

153. Still, however, the blockade continued; and at length the Romans were obliged to enter into a treaty with the enemy, offering them a thousand pounds' weight of gold if they would depart from the city. The offer was accepted; and Quintus Sulpicius, the tribune of the soldiers, was deputed to hold an interview with Brennus, the Gallic chief, and pay him the stipulated ransom. Brennus, says the Roman story, brought false weights; and when Sulpicius taxed him with the fraud, 'Væ victis!' ('Wo to the conquered!') said the laughing savage, and dashed his broadsword into the scale. Sulpicius paid the money, and the Gauls departed, pushing merrily home to the north, to regale their countrymen with stories of the wonderful things they had done and seen in Italy.

154. Such is the simplest form of the story of the sack of Rome by the Gauls. The vanity of the Romans, however, led them to invent numerous legends, in which the disaster was softened down. According to one of these legends, the ransom-money was never paid; the exile Camillus, who in the meantime had been appointed dictator by the Romans in Veii, having arrived in the Forum with an army just as the gold was being weighed out, annulled the bargain, expelled the enemy, and put their

chief to death. This story is a manifest fabrication: the Gauls left Rome voluntarily—and they left it a heap of ruins.

CHAPTER IV.

RESTORATION OF THE CITY, AND CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION—SAMNITE WARS, AND CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ITALY—B. C. 389-284.—Y. R. 365-470.

155. Slowly, and with heavy hearts, the scattered Romans returned to their own city. Hardly now, however, would they acknowledge it for their own, so dismal and desolate was the appearance which it presented. 'We cannot rebuild those ruins,' said the commons: 'have not the gods given us Veii? Let us remove thither, to live in the houses which are already built to receive us, and let us remember Rome no more.' A few resolute hearts opposed this desponding wish; and the patricians, bound both by patriotism and interest to the old city, exerted themselves to encourage the plebeians. To stimulate still more the work of restoration, the senate passed a decree, authorising the citizens to build wherever they chose during the space of a year, and to use whatever stones or timber they could find. Roofs for the new houses were also provided in many cases at the public expense, and Veii was dilapidated to supply building materials. The result was, that in the course of a year there rose up a new city, huddled together without plan or symmetry—the streets narrow, winding, and athwart the line of the sewers. Only a few of the old sites were preserved with accuracy. In order to recruit the population, all the political exiles—Camillus probably among them—were recalled, or suffered to return; and the franchise of the city was extended to the recently-conquered Etruscan towns of Veii, Falerii, and Capena. To include the new citizens, each of whom received seven jugera of land, four new tribes or parishes were created on

the Etruscan side of the Tiber, making the total number twenty-five.

156. While the Romans were thus engaged in repairing their shattered commonwealth, they were not free from foreign attacks. On their northern frontier they were harassed by those Etruscans whose territories they had not yet subdued; on the southern frontier their old enemies the Volscians assailed them; and, to complete their helplessness, the Latins and Hernicans—their faithful allies for more than a century—renounced their allegiance. In short, the invasion of the Gauls had disturbed all the foreign relations of Rome, and for ten years the city was distracted by wars and rumours of invasion. Camillus and Manlius were the leaders in the city during this crisis.

157. The distress and devastation caused by the Gaulish invasion obliged the commons, as on former occasions, to contract large debts, partly to the wealthier patricians, and partly to the professional money-lenders, who flocked to Rome, attracted by the enormous rate of interest which the demand for money permitted them to levy. Again, therefore, slave-debtors began to be dragged to the patrician jails, and again, by the operation of the severe law of debt, the liberties of the patricians seemed on the point of being extinguished. In the depth of the public distress, Manlius, the saviour of the Capitol, and the political opponent of Camillus, came forward as the friend of the people. Declaring that, rather than see a fellow-Roman made a slave for debt, he would reduce himself to beggary, he sold a large estate, and released as many as four hundred *addicti* with the proceeds. The gratitude of the commons was unbounded: they would have proclaimed Manlius king. The patricians, perhaps also the wealthier plebeians, were alarmed: Manlius was arrested, and brought to trial for high treason before the comitia centuriata. In his defence, he produced the debtors whom he had released, bared his breast, and exhibited its scars, and pointing to the Capitol, which he had saved, called on the gods to bear witness to his innocence. Such an appeal was resistless, and the people acquitted him. Presuming on the favour of the populace, however, Manlius became a dangerous

citizen: the members of his own house forsook him; and at length, having been brought to trial before the patricians in their curies, he was condemned, and secretly put to death. His house was razed, a decree was passed that no patrician should thenceforward have his dwelling on the Capitol, and from that day none of the Manlian family bore the name of Marcus.

158. By no such spasmodic effort as that of the patrician Marcus Manlius was Rome to be restored to prosperity, but by the slow, peaceful, and persevering labours of two eminent plebeians, Caius Licinius Stolo, and Lucius Sextius Lateranus, who were among the tribunes of the people chosen at the annual election in December 378. Licinius, who was one of the wealthiest of his order, and who appears to have been a man of calm and judicious mind, proposed to the tribes three separate bills or *rogations*, which contained, in his opinion, a thorough remedy for the existing evils. The first bill, the object of which was to afford immediate relief to the suffering classes, was to the following effect:—'The interest already paid on all existing debts having been deducted from the principal, the creditor shall be bound to accept the remainder as full payment—the money to be forthcoming in three equal annual instalments.' Such an enactment, in modern legislation, would be extremely unjust; but when we consider the circumstances in which the debts in question had been contracted, and the absolute necessity that existed for some desperate remedy, the proposal will not appear so unreasonable. It would have been very inefficient, however, if it had not been accompanied by the second bill, the provisions of which were as follows:—'Every Roman citizen shall be entitled to occupy any portion of the unallotted state-land not exceeding 500 jugera, and to feed on the public pasture-land any number of cattle not exceeding 100 head of large, or 500 head of small, paying in both cases the usual rates to the public treasury. Whatever portions of the public land beyond 500 jugera are at present occupied by individuals, shall be taken from them, and distributed among the poorer citizens as absolute property, at the rate of seven jugera a-piece. Occupiers of public land

shall also be bound to employ a certain proportion of freemen as labourers.' The third rogation, which, as being political in its object, was more obnoxious to the high patricians than either of the others, provided that, instead of *military tribunes*, there should in future be two *consuls* annually, one of these to be, of necessity, a plebeian.

159. For five years, the struggle continued. The majority of the patricians resisted Licinius to the utmost, some of them from patriotic motives, others from motives of self-interest. Resolutely, however, did he and his colleague Sextius, re-elected from year to year, proceed with the bills, employing all constitutional means, but not one act of violence, to gain their end. In 382, the patricians, resolved to crush the agitation, appointed Camillus dictator. Licinius proposed in the tribes, that if Camillus accepted the office, he should be fined 500,000 ases. Camillus resigned. One of the most vehement objections urged against the third rogation was the religious one, that a plebeian consul would be incapable of taking the auspices, or offering sacrifice. To strike at the root of this objection, Licinius proposed a fourth rogation, raising the number of the keepers of the Sibylline books to ten, to be chosen from either order indiscriminately. This bill was passed in 383; and already the opposition to the others had grown weak, many converts having been gained over from the patricians. At this juncture, however, the plebeians nearly proved false to themselves. Caring more for the first and second than for the third rogation, they were on the point of stupidly passing the two former alone —a compromise which the patricians would gladly have accepted. Licinius, however, prevented the blunder. 'If you will drink,' he said, 'you must eat too;' and forthwith he incorporated the three rogations into one, so that they should all be passed, or all rejected together. A dying effort was made by the patricians, and Camillus was again appointed dictator. But resistance was useless: the senate and curies were obliged to give their consent; and for the year 384 two consuls were appointed, one of whom was the plebeian Sextius, the colleague of Licinius. A fourth day for the commons was at the same time added to

the three already devoted to the celebration of the great games; and two new officers of high dignity, called *Curule Ædiles*, were created to preside at these games, to be chosen on alternate years from the patricians and the plebeians. As a concession to the former, the dignity of prætor of the city was separated from the consulship, and made an exclusive privilege of members of the patrician houses. Finally, to superintend the execution of the new laws, three commissioners, called *Triumvirs*, were appointed, with temporary powers.

160. During a period of more than twenty years after the happy termination of the Licinian struggle, the annals of Rome possess little interest. The years 390, 391, and 392, were marked by visitations of pestilence; and one of the first victims was the aged Camillus, the second founder of the Commonwealth. Among the ceremonies adopted to propitiate the gods during this calamity, was a pantomime, or rude dramatic representation by Etruscan actors to the music of the flute—the first instance of the kind in Roman history. The years 394, 395, 397, and 405, were marked by fresh irruptions of the Gauls into Italy. These irruptions were probably stimulated by the Etruscans of Tarquinii and Falerii, with whom the Romans carried on a fierce but desultory war from 396 to 404, when a peace for forty years was concluded. For some time also, Rome was harassed on her southern frontier by the continued hostility of her old allies, the Latins and the Hernicans; but in 397, the confederacy between the three nations was happily renewed. About the same time two new tribes, including a large district of Latium, were added to the twenty-five already existing. Meanwhile the Licinian laws had been in partial operation. From 384 to 395, one of the consuls was regularly a plebeian; but during the fifteen years which followed, the law with regard to the consulship was violated six or seven times by the election of two patrician consuls. The patrician party sometimes also gained their ends by appointing a dictator. In 399, at a critical point in the Etruscan war, the plebeian consul being required to name a dictator, appointed Caius Marcius Rutilus, another ple-

beian, and this first election of a plebeian dictator was sustained by the people against the wishes of the senate. Five years afterwards, the same man had the honour of being appointed the first plebeian censor. Thus, although violated in the letter, the spirit of the third Licinian law was triumphant. The other laws, however—the agrarian law, and that for the liquidation of debt—were not so successful. To evade the former, the occupants of the public land resorted to the trick of emancipating their sons, in order to assign to them the surplus land which they occupied beyond the legal quantity of 500 jugera; and strangely enough, Licinius himself was, in the year 398, impeached by one of the curule ædiles, and fined 10,000 ases for this very crime. The law for the liquidation of debt was equally inefficient; and in 403, the distress of the people was found to have increased to such an extent, that some decisive measure became necessary. Five commissioners were accordingly appointed, three of them plebeians, and two patricians, to act as state-bankers, accommodating the public with loans from the treasury; and in cases where a debtor wished to make over his property to his creditor in payment of his debt, transferring the same at a valuation. The rate of interest on borrowed money, which had already undergone several reductions, was, in 408, farther reduced to 4⅛ per cent. Leaving, however, these particulars of domestic history, let us turn to the great war with the Samnites, in which the Commonwealth now became involved.

161. The Samnites, as explained in the introductory chapter, were a general confederacy of those Sabine-Oscan states which had been formed by the irruptions of the Sabines from the north upon the original Oscan or Ausonian population of southern Italy. Originally confined to the hilly district lying between the confines of Latium and the source of the Silarus, the confederacy had extended its dominions so as to include under the name of Samnium a territory stretching across the peninsula, with its northern angle on the Adriatic south of the Aternus, and its southern on the Tyrrhenian coast south of Mount Vesuvius. This territory was already much larger than that occupied by the

Romans and their allies—the Latins and the Hernicans; nor was there any appearance that it had reached its final limits. The extensive state of Lucania, lying between Samnium and the Gulf of Tarentum, had been founded by a colony of Samnites, and although independent in its government, was naturally to be regarded as a mere prolongation of Samnium. It was evident, in short, that the Samnites, the growing power in southern, must soon come into collision with the Romans, the growing power in Central Italy, and that only by the destruction of the one nation could the other attain the supremacy of the peninsula.

162. The immediate cause of the war between the two nations was the descent of the Samnites into the rich country of Campania, lying on the Tyrrhene coast south from Latium and the territory of the Volscians. About eighty years earlier, or in the year of Rome 331, a body of Samnites had invaded Campania, then inhabited by an Etrusco-Oscan population, the Etruscans having at a very remote period gained possession of this tract of coast, and there founded Vulturnum, a great and wealthy city, excelling in magnificence not only Rome, but even the cities of Etruria. Masters of this opulent but grossly licentious city, the name of which they changed to *Capua*, the Samnite colonists had, since 331, constituted in it a sort of populus in the midst of an Etrusco-Oscan plebs. Corrupted also by the luxurious influences of the place, they had in a manner repudiated their origin by calling themselves Campanians. The real Samnites of the interior, therefore, when a slight provocation was offered by the Capuans in 412, felt no scruples about invading the country; and, unable to resist so formidable a foe, the latter applied to Rome for help.

163. The Romans, complying with this request, sent ambassadors to the Samnites, with whom they were then on terms of amity, commanding them to desist from their inroads upon Campania. The injunction having been disregarded, war was declared, and the two consuls, Marcus Valerius Corvus, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus, marched, the former into Campania, the latter into Samnium. Both

armies were victorious; three great battles were gained —one of them in consequence of the brave exertions of a plebeian tribune named Publius Decius Mus—and the two consuls re-entered Rome in triumph. One of the armies, however, having been left to winter in Capua, formed the design of seizing that rich city for themselves; and when Caius Marcius Rutilus, one of the consuls for 413, arrived to take the command, he found the soldiers in open mutiny. His efforts to allay the ferment only increased it; and at length the mutineers marched out of Campania, and advanced in hostile array towards Rome. Eight miles from the city, they were met by Valerius Corvus, who had hastily been appointed dictator; and by the weight and popularity of his character, Corvus succeeded in quelling the revolt, and inducing the soldiers to return to their duty. This extraordinary mutiny was probably part of a general plebeian movement; for in the same year (413), a tribune of the people, named Lucius Genucius, proposed and carried three laws, which could have found favour with the patricians only during an extreme emergency. The first cancelled all existing debts, and declared it illegal to receive any interest whatever in future for money which had been lent; the second prohibited any one from holding two offices in the state together, or from holding the same office twice within ten years; and the third decreed that in future, while one of the consuls *must* be, both *might* be, of the plebeian order. While the attention of the Romans was occupied with these measures, the Samnite war had been carried on by their Latin allies. All the glory of the war was consequently transferred to the Latins and the Campanians: the remnant of the Volscians, and the other small tribes lying between Latium and Campania, showed a disposition to prefer the friendship of Latium to that of Rome. In these circumstances, the Romans saw the necessity of bringing the war to a conclusion; and accordingly, in 414, a peace was concluded with the Samnites on very easy terms.

164. At the conclusion of the first Samnite war, Central Italy was divided into two clusters of nations: on the one

side the Latins, the Campanians, the Volscians, &c.; and on the other the Romans, the Samnites, and the Hernicans. The former of these confederacies would have been broken up, if the Romans had yielded to a proposal made to them by the congress of Latin cities, to the effect that there should be a complete incorporation of the Roman and Latin nations—Rome to be the seat of government, but the powers of the consulship, the senate, &c. to be shared equally between both parties. This proposition was contemptuously rejected by the Romans; and in 415 war began—a war doubly terrible, as being between nations long connected by the closest intimacy. The Roman army, under the consuls Titus Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius Mus, entered Campania by a circuitous march through Samnium. At length a decisive battle was fought near Mount Vesuvius. The Roman augurs having declared, before the battle, that the victory would belong to the army which should lose one of its generals, it was agreed between the consuls that, as soon as either wing should begin to give way, the consul who commanded that wing should devote himself for his country. The wing commanded by Decius having first given way, the brave plebeian executed his vow. Wrapping himself in his consular robe, so as to veil his face, holding his hand to his chin, and placing his foot on a javelin, he solemnly invoked the gods to accept him as a substitute for the Roman people, and to devote along with him the Latins and their auxiliaries to 'the dead and to mother earth.' He then rushed into the midst of the enemy, and fell covered with wounds. The victory was won by the Romans, and the slaughter of the enemy was immense. An additional campaign or two brought the war to a close, and in 417, Latium, Campania, and the minor states situated between them, submitted to the mercy of the Romans. The whole public land of Latium, the rich Falernian district of Campania, and portions of the other states, were confiscated. A great proportion of the conquered inhabitants, Latin, Volscian, and Campanian, were admitted to the citizenship of Rome, some with fuller, others with more restricted privileges; but their future allegiance was secured

by a variety of politic measures tending to destroy their national unity. Of these measures, the chief were the plantation of Roman colonies in some places, the removal of dangerous individuals from others, the destruction of fortifications, the proscription of all general assemblies or political meetings, and the prohibition of intermarriage between different towns and districts. The Volscian port-town of Antium was deprived of all its armed ships; part of these were laid up in the Roman dock; the prows of others were cut off, and employed in adorning the front of the pulpit from which the orators addressed the people in the Forum—called afterwards, on account of this circumstance, the *Rostra*, or *Prows*.

165. It is probable that the extension of the bounds of the state by the Latin war contributed to extinguish the remaining jealousy between the patricians and the plebeians, by creating a large surrounding population inferior to both. Accordingly, Quintus Publilius, a plebeian, having been appointed dictator in 416, found little difficulty in introducing several important changes in the constitution. The first of these was a law rendering it essential that, in future, one of the censors should be a plebeian. The second threw open the prætorship to plebeian candidates. More important than either was the third, which virtually abolished the political power of the curies, by enacting, 1st, That a *senatus consultum*, or proposition of the senate, once referred by the senate to the centuries, and there approved of, should have no farther stage to pass through; and 2d, That a *plebiscitum*, or resolution of the tribes, should become binding on all Romans as soon as it had received the assent of the senate, without requiring that of the curies in addition. The effect of these measures was to vest the entire business of legislation in the senate and people. Met in their *centuries*, the people could only accept or reject the measures which the senate had prepared; but met in their *tribes*, they could originate a measure, and oblige the senate to take it into consideration. Thus, sometimes in the shape of a matured scheme, descending from the senate to the people, sometimes in the shape of a popular wish or resolution sent up to the senate, a

measure became law. From this simplification of the constitution commences, according to historians, the golden age of Roman politics. The Romans after this soon forgot the original meaning of their own word *populus*, and recognised, in the phrase 'Senatus Populusque Romanus,' the initial letters of which, S. P. Q. R., were blazoned on all their standards, the glorious description and symbol of their Commonwealth—the *senatus* or senate being a select body of higher citizens, partly patricians, and partly plebeians, trained and experienced in the work of legislation; the *populus* or people, the promiscuous community of free citizens, patricians, plebeians, and clients, all sharing in the business of the state, and exerting an influence proportioned to their ability and rank. It is not to be forgotten, however, that intermixed with this community was a population of slaves, whose existence was not taken into account; and that surrounding it were large tracts of conquered land, in which even the free population had no share in the government under which they lived.

166. The twelve years which followed the Publilian simplification of the constitution present no event of special consequence. During this period Italy shared in the universal excitement caused throughout Europe by the news of the gigantic progress which Alexander the Great was then making in the conquest of Asia. It is even believed that Rome was one of the Italian nations which sent embassies to congratulate the conqueror at Babylon. Alexander, however, was dead, and his great Macedonian empire had fallen to pieces before the second Samnite war was well begun. The occasion of this war, which was to decide whether the Latin or the Sabine race should predominate in Italy, was a quarrel, in the year 428, between the Roman colonists recently settled in Campania, and their neighbours, the inhabitants of the two Greek towns of Palæopolis and Neapolis (Naples). War having been declared against these towns, and the consuls having marched into Campania, it was found that a number of Samnites were fighting in the service of the Greeks. This afforded a sufficient pretext to the Romans for again declaring war against the Samnite confederacy. As usual,

the adjacent tribes and nations gathered round the combatants. The principal allies of the Samnites were the Greeks of Tarentum, and their own kinsmen the Lucanians; the Apulians, on the other hand, likewise related to the Samnites by blood, and inhabiting the country between Samnium and the Adriatic, joined the Romans.

167. Palæopolis and Neapolis having been reduced, the war against Samnium was begun in the year 429. After four severe campaigns, the Samnites sued for peace, offering not merely to restore all their plunder and prisoners, and to concede all the demands which the Roman senate had made before the commencement of the war, but also—shameful act in so valiant a people!—to deliver up one of their chiefs, Papius Brutulus, who had been their principal adviser in the war. The Romans, however, already seeing their way to the supremacy of the peninsula, rejected these humble offers, and refused to grant peace on any terms short of the absolute submission of Samnium to Rome. Thus driven to despair, the Samnites resolved to commit the fortunes of their country once more to the chances of war. They chose as their *imperator*, or commander-in-chief, Caius Pontius of Telesia.

168. Success attended this new effort of the Samnites. By a stratagem of their general, who spread the report that all the Samnite forces had marched into Apulia to lay siege to the town of Luceria, the Roman legions were enticed into Samnium in the spring of 433, and there shut up in the *Caudine Forks*, a narrow pass between two mountains, on the present road between Naples and Benevento. Here, blocked in by the enemy posted on the heights and at both ends of the pass, the Romans would speedily have perished by starvation, but for the humanity of the Samnite general. A man of noble mind, and educated in that fine Greek philosophy which had not yet crept so far north as Rome, Caius Pontius was swayed by sentiments more generous than were known to any Roman general of his day; and, confiding in their honour, he offered to the imprisoned armies their lives and liberties, on condition that the consuls and the inferior officers should swear, in the name of the Roman people, to

restore to the Samnites all that they had lost during the war, and to renew the old alliance with them on terms of mutual independence. These terms were accepted: the consuls and the other officers took the oath required; and the Samnites then permitted their prisoners to go without ransom, only depriving them of their arms and baggage, and obliging them, according to the common usage in such cases, to pass under the yoke; that is, to acknowledge their defeat by passing under one spear laid across two others, stuck upright in the ground in the form of a cattle yoke. Six hundred Roman knights were retained as hostages, until the treaty concluded with the army should have been ratified by the senate and people.

169. Wending their way through Campania and Latium, a distance of about a hundred and thirty miles, the defeated soldiers scarcely dared to show themselves in Rome. The whole city put on mourning; the consuls resigned their office; new ones were elected; and a hasty meeting of the senate was convened. Here Spurius Postumius, one of the defeated consuls, advised that the treaty which had been concluded with the Samnites should be annulled; that he and his comrades who had taken the oath should be delivered up, to undergo, along with the six hundred hostages, whatever punishment the enemy might choose to inflict; and that the war should be immediately renewed. Although there was hardly a senator who had not some near relative involved in the danger, the advice was accepted; and immediately the two consuls and the other officers who had concluded the treaty were sent back bound to the Samnite camp, in the custody of a herald, who was to repudiate the treaty in the name of the senate. As soon as the herald had delivered his message, Postumius struck him on the thigh with his knee, exclaiming, 'I, being now a Samnite, strike thee who art a Roman ambassador; therefore the peace between the Romans and the Samnites is broken!' 'This is a mere childish trick,' said the Samnite chief, 'and the conduct of the Roman senate and people is base. Let them either replace the legions precisely as they were in the Caudine Forks, or perform the stipulated conditions. These prisoners are but a poor sub-

stitute for an army.' So saying, the noble Samnite ordered the Roman officers to be unbound and released.

170. For ten years the war was carried on with various success, sometimes in Samnium, sometimes in Campania, sometimes in Apulia. At length the Romans, in 440, at the time when, owing to the revolt of Capua and other towns in Campania, their fortunes seemed at the lowest, gained a great victory at Cinna, on the borders of Samnium. The fall of Samnium, however, was postponed for a while by the breaking out of a new war with the Etruscans, who, on the expiry of the peace of forty years, which had been concluded in 404 between the Romans and the Etruscan cities of Falerii and Tarquinii, could not resist the temptation of another contest with their ancient and now somewhat weakened enemy.

171. Assailed on her northern frontier by the forces of the Etruscan nations, and on her southern by those of the Samnites, Rome was obliged for several years to conduct a double war. The abilities, however, of the consular leaders, Quintus Fabius Maximus, Lucius Papirius Cursor, and Publius Decius Mus, did the Romans such good service, that, before the beginning of the year 447, the Etruscans were glad to purchase peace at the price of a year's pay, and two tunics to each Roman soldier; and the Samnites found their strength almost gone. At this juncture, the Hernicans were so infatuated as to revolt from Rome, as the Latins had done thirty years before. One brief campaign put an end to their opposition; and they atoned for their folly by being reduced from the position of allies, which they had occupied since the league of Spurius Cassius, to that of mere subjects, exercising no power either in the general government or in their own municipal affairs. Thus the famous triple confederacy of the Romans, the Latins, and the Hernicans, established nearly two centuries before, was brought to an end precisely at the time when it had fully served its purpose, and when its longer continuance would have impeded the growth in Italy of that Roman unity which it had fostered and preserved. Having failed in their attempt to preserve their independence, the Samnites, the bravest enemy whom

the Romans had yet encountered, were obliged, in 449, to accept the hard terms which they had formerly spurned, and to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. The minor nations, situated between the Roman territory and Samnium, sought the protection of the Romans; and the Æquians, once so formidable an enemy, and who had openly taken part with the Samnites, were conquered with little difficulty, and incorporated with the country population. In short, the second Samnite war terminated in the establishment of the supremacy of Rome over the whole of Central Italy.

172. The state of parties in Rome during the second Samnite war was scarcely the same as it had been prior to the Publilian simplification of the constitution. The new extension of territory had increased, in an enormous degree, the population subject to the Roman government. To admit the recently-added masses to some share of political power, new tribes had from time to time been added to the old ones. Thus, in addition to the twenty-seven already known to the reader, two were added in the year 421, and other two in 435, all south of the Tiber. These new tribes or parishes were purposely made more extensive as they were farther distant from the city, in order to condense the political power near the centre, each tribe having but a single vote. To be registered in a tribe, so as to be able to vote on public measures, and to be eligible to public offices, was to enjoy the full rights of a Roman citizen. Of the new subjects, however, added by conquest to the state, none obtained the privilege of being registered in a tribe except those who possessed the qualifications of a plebeian—namely, free birth, property in land, and agricultural habits. All the other free inhabitants were excluded; those, for instance, who lived in the conquered towns pursuing handicraft trades or commerce—occupations deemed inferior in ancient Italy to those of war and agriculture. The name by which this class of subjects was distinguished was that of *Ærarians*. Among the ærarians of Rome, now a large and flourishing city, were classed the members of the ancient guilds or corporations—the pipers, the goldsmiths, the carpenters, the

dyers, the curriers, the tanners, the coppersmiths, and the potters—besides a multitude of persons engaged in other avocations, such as the bankers, and the scribes or notaries. The greater proportion of these ærarians were clients; many of them, and especially many of the scribes, were freedmen, or the sons of freedmen. Numerous, and with many wealthy and able men among them, it was natural for the ærarians to aspire to a share of political power. It is true they enjoyed exemption from military service, while the plebeian or peasant proprietor was obliged to undergo the fatigues of war; but this did not appear a sufficient compensation for the exclusion of the great mass of their body from the right of voting in the tribes and centuries, and for the exclusion of even those who did belong to tribes from political honours. The ærarians, therefore, stimulated chiefly by the notaries—who, as government officials, were naturally a more expert class of men than the others—began to follow the example so successfully led by the plebeians, and demand a place in the constitution. By that natural instinct which sometimes leads men to refuse to others what they have just obtained for themselves, the plebeians were disposed to resist the claims of the ærarians; while, on the other hand, as frequently happened in ancient states, the high aristocratic party leagued itself with these new claimants against their old rivals the plebeians.

173. Thus there arose in Rome three parties—the high aristocratic party, the chiefs of which were Appius Claudius, the representative of the old patrician family of the Claudii, and Lucius Papirius Cursor, celebrated for his victories in the Samnite war; the plebeian or old popular party, led by such distinguished men as Quintus Fabius Maximus, Publius Decius Mus, Marcus Valerius Corvus, and Quintus Publilius, some of them patricians, and others plebeians; and the ærarian, a new popular party, led by the richest and most distinguished of their class, among whom the most conspicuous was Cneius Flavius, a notary, and the son of a freedman.

174. During the early part of the second Samnite war, the plebeian or middle party seems to have retained its

ascendancy against the joint efforts of the other two; and accordingly the only measure of special importance recorded as having been passed at this period is a plebeian one—the abolition of personal slavery for debt. As the war made progress, however, the league between the other two parties became stronger, and their power greater; and at length, in 442, Appius Claudius, the head of the aristocratic party, and the representative of the coalition between it and the ærarians, became one of the censors. Instantly, by the exercise of his censorial power, he changed the condition of parties, filling up the vacancies in the senate with the names of persons known to favour his views, and distributing ærarians through the thirty-one tribes in such a manner as greatly to lessen the influence of the plebeians at the tribe meetings. His colleague in the censorship resigned office in disgust. Appius, however, instead of resigning also, as was usually the custom when a censor lost his colleague, persisted in holding office alone, and proceeded to still greater lengths in the execution of his plans. He even retained the office beyond the eighteen months prescribed by law; and thus in his hands the censorship, always a charge of great responsibility, became a power little short of sovereignty.

175. Only a very peculiar position of parties at the time, and a remarkable degree of toleration on the part of the plebeians, will account for the peace which Appius enjoyed in the exercise, for so long a period, of such vast powers. Many of his acts, however, by whatever motives they were dictated, were most beneficial to the state. A great inconvenience under which the public had till then laboured, was their ignorance of the precise times at which the *dies fasti*, or court days—of which there were thirty-eight scattered irregularly through the year—recurred. None but the pontifex and a few patricians understood the principle of the arrangement of these days; and persons in the country who had law business to transact in the city, were obliged to apply to such parties for the necessary information. This inconvenience was remedied by the notary Cneius Flavius, then acting as a clerk in the censor's office. Prompted no doubt by Appius, he drew up, for exposure in the

Forum, an almanac or calendar of all the days in the year, stating the character of each, and what business could be legally transacted on it. It has been inferred, from this and other actions of Appius, that his intention was to raise himself to a sovereign power similar to that frequently acquired by ambitious individuals in the Greek commonwealths. The true nature, however, of this movement in Roman history, and the real object of the connection between the high patrician, Appius Claudius, and the ærarian clerk, Cneius Flavius, cannot at this distance of time be ascertained.

176. The two great works by which Appius Claudius distinguished his censorship, were the commencement of the famous Appian road leading from Rome to Capua, a distance of 120 miles, and afterwards extended across the peninsula to Brundusium, a farther distance of 240 miles, paved all the way with large blocks of stone; and the construction of the equally famous Appian aqueduct, which supplied the lower parts of the city with good water brought from springs eight miles distant. The workmen employed on these undertakings were probably prisoners of war; and the necessary funds must have been raised by the sale of portions of the public land.

177. Popular with the ærarians, on account of his political connection with them, and respected by many of the plebeians, on account of his undeniable public services, Appius retained the office of censor for four years. He would have retained it for the fifth, if he had been allowed to hold it along with the consulship, for which he stood candidate in 446. The tribunes, however, threatening to forbid the holding of the comitia for the election unless he resigned the censorship, he was obliged to submit, and be content with the consulship alone. But the effects of his censorship, as regarded the composition of the tribes, had been such, that the mixed party, of which he was the head, still made progress; and in 449, Cneius Flavius the notary was elected one of the curule ædiles. The election of a member of what was accounted a mean profession to so high an office, gave great offence to the leading patricians and plebeians. Flavius, however, behaved with spirit on

the occasion, and discharged his duties with ability and zeal.

178. So striking an innovation, however, on the ancient practice, could not but produce a reaction in favour of the old popular party. Distributed through the thirty-one tribes, the ærarians would, if the policy of Appius were persevered in, obtain a preponderance in the state; because, being always on the spot, they would in many cases constitute a majority in the more distant tribes, whose plebeian members were absent. Even Flavius admitted the force of this consideration. In short, all parties agreed that the disorder introduced into the constitution of the tribes by Appius Claudius ought to be remedied; and as the only efficient mode of doing so was by a revision of the censors' lists, Quintus Fabius Maximus and Publius Decius Mus, the two well-tried champions of the old popular party, were, in 449, appointed censors at an extraordinary election before the usual period.

179. Revising the list of citizens as it then stood, the new censors carefully removed out of the rural tribes all the ærarians, freedmen, and miscellaneous individuals of the town population, constituting what was called 'The Market Faction,' and enrolled them in the four town tribes —the Palatine, the Colline, the Esquiline, and the Suburan; thus giving them a certain proportion of influence, but leaving the preponderance in the comitium to the plebeian or agricultural population of the other twenty-seven tribes. This change appears to have been a just and reasonable one in the circumstances; for it was carried without opposition, and Flavius himself testified his satisfaction with it, by dedicating a temple on the occasion to the goddess Concord.

180. Still, however, a leaven of the old discord remained between the high patrician and the popular party; for in 453, a law having been proposed by two of the tribunes, Quintus and Cnieus Ogulnius, for admitting plebeians to the pontifical and augural colleges, it was vehemently opposed by Appius Claudius and his adherents. The strength of the plebeians, however, assisted by the votes of the more moderate patricians, carried the bill, and the colleges of the

pontiffs and the augurs were increased to nine—four of the former, and five of the latter, to be commoners. The patricians were thus deprived of the power of using religion, as they had sometimes done, as an instrument for political ends.

181. The censorship of Fabius and Decius, and the contest regarding the Ogulnian law, were contemporaneous with those minor wars against the Æquians, &c. which followed the close of the second Samnite war. To extend the franchise to the conquered Æquians, two new tribes were at this time added to the thirty-one already existing. Rome, however, was not yet permitted to enjoy repose; for in the year 456, the Etruscans and the Samnites again rose in arms against her—the Etruscans, in consequence of some interference of the Romans in the affairs of the city of Arretium; the Samnites, out of that resolute desire for freedom which misfortune cannot quench in a brave and patriotic people. During the years 456–458, Samnium was ravaged by large armies, under such generals as Quintus Fabius, Publius Decius, and Lucius Cornelius Scipio; and although the Samnites gained some successes, and made inroads on the Roman territories in Campania, they were evidently losing ground. At length, in 459, they planned and carried into execution a bold and judicious scheme. This was to transfer the seat of the war to Etruria, where their own armies, co-operating with those of the Etruscans, as well as with the hosts of Umbrians and Gauls who would consent to join them, either for pay, or for the mere hope of booty, might be able to accomplish what they had attempted in vain in Samnium—the humiliation of Rome. In conformity with this plan, Gellius Egnatius, the Samnite general, led his forces by a circuitous route into the Tuscan states. To oppose this formidable confederacy, the Romans raised a large army, and chose as consuls their two best men—Quintus Fabius, and Publius Decius; the former for the fifth, the latter for the fourth time.

182. After various actions of inferior consequence, in some of which the Romans suffered severely, their main army, under the two consuls, came up with the forces of

the Samnites, the Gauls, and the Umbrians at Sentinum, a small Umbrian town on the north side of the Apennines —the Etruscans having, by a skilful stratagem, been drawn off for the defence of their own country. A terrible battle ensued. At one point the savage onrush of the Gauls, in their war-chariots, seemed to have gained the day for the confederates, when Decius, imitating the conduct of his father in the battle with the Latins at Mount Vesuvius, devoted himself for his country, and praying that 'the place of his death might be that of the extirpation of the Samnites,' rushed into the midst of the foe. Over his dead body the Romans gained the victory—one of the greatest that had yet attended their arms.

183. The battle of Sentinum broke up the confederacy of the Samnites with the northern nations; the war, however, was prolonged separately in Etruria and Samnium. In 461, both consuls invaded the latter country. The Samnites, prepared for the last extremity, had fortified their courage by the most solemn oaths and religious ceremonies. Their forces consisted of about 36,000 men, of whom about 16,000, wearing plumes and white linen tunics, and armed in a superior manner, were named the Linen Legion. One of the Roman consuls, Spurius Carvilius, besieged Cominium; the other, Lucius Papirius Cursor, the son of the celebrated general of that name, advanced against Aquilinia. Here, having learnt that the enemy had weakened themselves by sending off some of their number to relieve Cominium, he resolved to give battle. Eager for the fight, the Pullarii, or keepers of the sacred chickens, gave a false augury. 'The omen is good,' they said; 'the fowls were no sooner let out of the basket, than they ate greedily the corn which was offered to them.' It was announced to Papirius that this was a lie, and that the fowls had not eaten at all; nevertheless, he hazarded the battle, ordering the Pullarii to be placed in the front ranks, and exclaiming, when the chief culprit among them was killed, 'The gods have punished their guilty interpreter, and the omen remains ours.' The carnage of the Samnites was terrible; a great part of their army was cut off, and the rest fled. The other Roman army was like-

wise victorious; Cominium was taken, and the two consuls returned home in triumph—one of them marching immediately afterwards into Etruria.

184. The following year terminated the Samnite war. It began, however, with a glimpse of success for the ill-fated Samnites; for, having once more called Caius Pontius to the command, his skill, so conspicuous thirty years before in the affair of the Caudine Forks, again restored the hopes of his country, by inflicting a complete defeat on Quintus Fabius Gurges, one of the consuls for the year, and the son of the great Fabius. A proposal which was made in the senate, probably by the political enemies of the Fabian house, to recall the consul in disgrace, would have been carried into effect, had not his aged father offered to go into Samnium and serve as his son's lieutenant. The offer was accepted; a new army gathered with enthusiasm round the aged chief, and his unrivalled generalship soon retrieved the misconduct of his son, by gaining a great battle, in which about 20,000 Samnites were slain, and 4000 taken prisoners, among whom was Caius Pontius. Samnium was now completely reduced. Fabius returned home, to follow humbly, on horseback, the car in which his son triumphed; while in front of the car, with his hands bound, walked the Samnite patriot. To the lasting disgrace of Rome, this hero, who, thirty years before, had so nobly spared the lives of a whole Roman army, was beheaded in a dungeon, and with him perished the independence of Samnium—Y. R. 464.

185. One of the consuls for the year in which this war was concluded was Manius Curius Dentatus, a poor citizen of Latin origin, but celebrated as one of the greatest men of his time. Besides conducting the last campaign in Samnium, he conquered the Sabines, who, after being on terms of friendship with Rome for a hundred and fifty years, had involved themselves in war by giving some assistance to the Samnites. The acquisitions made by these conquests of Curius were so large, that he is reported to have said 'the lands he had won for Rome would have been left a wilderness, had he conquered fewer people; and the people would have been starved, had he won less land.'

His civil conduct, however, earned for him a reputation of a higher character. The vast acquisitions of territory by the Samnite, the Hernican, the Æquian, the Marsian, and the Sabine wars, had increased in an enormous degree the wealth and rapacity of those classes in the community which had the right of occupying the public land, while, owing to the extraordinary taxation, and other expenses entailed by the wars, multitudes were reduced to extreme distress. The nâtural remedy was an agrarian law, and such a law was proposed by Curius, assigning seven jugera to every citizen. The annals of Rome, here very scanty, speak of a resolute opposition on the part of the patricians, with Appius Claudius and the two Papirii at their head. Curius, however, carried his law. Clamours then arose for farther concessions—for the remission of debts, and for an addition to the political privileges of the plebeians. To obtain these ends, the people at length resorted to that desperate device which they had several times before tried with success—a secession from the city. This, the last instance of a secession in Roman history, was likewise successful. Quintus Hortensius, a plebeian, was appointed dictator, and a reconciliation was effected under his auspices, the price of which to the patricians consisted of these concessions:—1st, The execution of the agrarian law; 2d, A remission of debts; and 3d, The abolition of the veto which the senate had hitherto exercised upon the decisions of the tribes. Another law, proposed immediately afterwards by Caius Mænius, abolished the right which, up to this time, the curies had retained of objecting to the choice of curule magistrates made by the centuries.

186. These last-named changes—the Hortensian and the Mænian laws—may be considered as having given to the constitution its final and finished form. The whole legislative power was now, in effect, vested in the tribes, in whose assemblies all important measures were proposed, discussed, and voted upon. These assemblies were absolute and uncontrolled, except by the authority of their own tribunes, any one of whom could obstruct a measure by his single veto; so that thenceforward the usual way in which the patricians resisted public opinion, was by gaining over

a tribune to their interest. Yet this absolute legislative power of the tribes did not make the Roman constitution so democratic as, viewed according to our modern ideas, it might at first appear. The whole executive power of the state remained in the hands of the senate and the magistrates; and in all those special cases which in modern England would call forth an act of parliament, the senate decided by its own authority, its decrees having the force of laws. The right of imposing taxes, that most valued of parliamentary privileges in modern states, was intrusted to the mere official discretion of two men—the censors; and thus the power of the people to coerce the government, by refusing to contribute supplies, was materially limited. Lastly, the election of magistrates was vested in the centuries, the constitution of which was considerably less democratic than that of the tribes. And here we are led to mention a change which took place in the character of this peculiarly Roman assembly.

187. Owing to the change in the value of money since the days of Servius Tullius, and the greater separation between the rich and the poor, it would seem that the classification of the citizens, established by that king, had in process of time become totally useless. Even had the spirit of the arrangement been consistent with the altered relations of patricians and plebeians, the tariff of degrees of wealth established by Servius was now inadequate for its purpose, there being no longer such a difference in point of social consequence between the citizen with 100,000 ases of taxable property, and the citizen with only 12,500 ases, as there had once been. The rich man could now count his millions instead of his hundreds of thousands, and plebeians with fortunes under 12,500 ases were exceedingly numerous. The old constitution of the centuries was therefore abolished, and a new one adopted, more democratic than the Servian, but less so than the constitution of the tribes. Of the precise character of this reformation we are, strangely enough, quite ignorant; we know only that it was a blending of the classification according to tribes with that according to centuries.

CHAPTER V.

WAR WITH PYRRHUS AND THE GREEKS IN ITALY—CONQUEST OF THE WHOLE PENINSULA.—B. C. 284-264.—Y. R. 470-490.

188. Although, at the conclusion of the third Samnite war, Rome occupied, beyond question, the first place among the states of Italy, her power was not yet sufficiently secure to render certain her ultimate supremacy over the entire peninsula. The war with the Etruscans had outlasted that with the Samnites; and in the years 469 and 470, Roman armies were occupied in the south of Italy in defending the Greek city of Thurii against the Lucanians and Bruttians, who, although recently on good terms with the Romans, would pay no attention to their request that Thurii should be let alone. This interference in behalf of the Thurians awoke the slumbering hatred of all the nations of southern Italy towards Rome; and a league was formed among them, the object of which was to damage her interests in every possible way. The most active members of this league were the leading men of the Greek city of Tarentum. The Samnites were of course eager to join such an alliance; the Apulians, notwithstanding their friendly relations with Rome, did not stand aloof; and, more alarming still, a communication was opened up between these southern confederates and the Etruscans, the Umbrians, and the Gauls of the north.

189. The first decided demonstration of this hostile combination was on the part of the Senonian Gauls, inhabiting the country between the Apennines and the Adriatic north-west of Etruria. In the year 471, they assisted the Etruscans in laying siege to Arretium, and were instrumental in defeating a large Roman army sent to relieve that town. As treaties subsisted at the time between them and the Romans, the latter, according to custom, sent an embassy to remonstrate with them. The savage Gauls, instigated by one of their chiefs, whose father had fallen at Arretium, murdered the ambas-

sadors. No time was lost in exacting a fearful vengeance. Marching suddenly into the country, the consul, Publius Cornelius Dolabella, laid it waste without remorse, slaying all the men capable of bearing arms, and carrying off the women and children as slaves. Roused by the horrible fate of their brethren, the Boian Gauls, inhabiting the country north of the Senones as far as the Po, rushed into the service of the Etruscans. Defeated, however, in several battles, and reduced to a mere remnant, these descendants of the ancient conquerors of Rome were soon obliged to sue for peace; and although the Etruscans persisted in the war till 474, there was no spirit or strength in their efforts.

190. Rome had thus effectually crippled her foes in northern Italy: the coalition of the nations in the south, however, was far more formidable. The combined forces of the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites, it is true, were, in 472, several times defeated by the consul Caius Fabricius Luscinus; Thurii had been relieved, and a garrison planted in it for its protection; and at the end of a most prosperous campaign, the Roman forces returned home laden with spoils. The Tarentines, however, who, although they had taken no open part in the war, were the secret contrivers of the hostile coalition, now appeared personally in the struggle. The manner of their doing so was somewhat singular. One afternoon, late in the year 472, the whole free population of the city was assembled in the theatre, either for public business, or to witness some of those sports and pageants of which the Greeks in particular were so fond. The theatres in ancient towns were immense unroofed edifices, consisting of semicircular tiers of seats rising above each other, and overlooking the orchestra and stage: that of Tarentum was so built, that the spectators on the raised seats commanded a view of the sea behind and over the heads of the actors. In this building the Tarentines were met, gazing listlessly down upon the stage, when suddenly ten Roman triremes or ships of war were seen entering the harbour, their oars rising and falling gently in the water. About twenty years before, a treaty had been concluded between Rome and

Tarentum, one of the terms of which was, that no Roman vessels should sail north of the Lucanian promontory. At peace, however, with the Tarentines, the Romans scarcely recollected the existence of so old a treaty; and accordingly their admiral, who had been sent into those seas to watch over the interests of the Commonwealth, and protect Thurii, did not scruple to enter the Tarentine harbour when it suited his convenience. For a few moments, the audience gazed on the ships merely as a pretty sight, which diverted them from the spectacle on the stage; but when a demagogue present, named Philocharis, rose up, and pointing to the ships, cried out, 'The Romans!—the broken treaty!' a feeling of vengeance took possession of them; and rushing out, they ran in crowds to the beach, manned all the ships and boats they could seize, and in a few moments were scrambling up the sides of the Roman vessels, and struggling with their crews. Four of the triremes were sunk, and one was taken, all the fighting men on board of which were put to death, and the rowers sold as slaves. Elated by this exploit, the Tarentines immediately attacked Thurii, expelled the Roman garrison, killed or banished the principal inhabitants, and took possession of the town.

191. An embassy was despatched by the Romans to demand satisfaction for these outrages. The thoughtless Greeks received the embassy in the most insulting manner. Followed from their ships by a crowd of boys and men laughing at their peculiar dress, and especially at the white toga, with its red border, which they all wore, the ambassadors were taken to the theatre, where the citizens, who seemed to be oftener there than anywhere else, were again assembled. Here Lucius Postumius, who acted as spokesman, delivered the message of the Roman people. Unfortunately Postumius was not a practised Greek speaker; and during his address, the Tarentines amused themselves with his mistakes in grammar and pronunciation. Without suffering himself to be in the least disconcerted, the Roman gravely persevered in his harangue; and when he had finished it, turned with his companions to leave the theatre. At this moment a drunken profligate

of the town went up and deliberately defiled the toga of Postumius in an ungracious manner. Postumius turned round and held up the toga to the audience. Shouts, clapping of hands, and bursts of laughter, were the only replies to the mute appeal. 'Laugh on, laugh on, Tarentines,' cried Postumius, 'ye will cry soon enough; this toga shall be washed in your blood!' The ambassadors then left the theatre; and Postumius, with his toga, which he carefully kept unwashed, was soon on his way to Rome.

192. Reluctant as they were to engage in a war with Tarentum before that with the Etruscans was concluded, the unfortunate toga, produced on the senate table, was a sufficient provocation to the Romans; and in 473, one of the consuls, Lucius Æmilius Barbula, marched to take vengeance on Tarentum. There was an aristocratic party in the city eager to save it by timely submission. The mass of the people, however, detested the Romans, and were ready to adopt any measure rather than yield. It was accordingly proposed and resolved that Pyrrhus, the celebrated king of Epirus, should be requested to come to Italy and place himself at the head of the confederacy of Italic nations against Rome.

193. Pyrrhus, one of the ablest princes of that age, was the son of Æäcides, king of Epirus, who was a cousin of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great. For ages his family, who traced their descent from the hero Achilles, had reigned over the Molossians, one of the tribes of the Epirots—a savage people of the Greek race, but not partaking of the Greek civilisation, who inhabited the rich and woody country of Epirus, lying at the north-west angle of Ancient Greece, and immediately opposite the heel of the Italian peninsula. The Molossians having become the predominant tribe among the Epirots, their kings were regarded as sovereigns of the whole country, but with authority of a very limited description. After the death of Alexander in 430, Æäcides, the father of Pyrrhus, took part with his cousin Olympias against Alexander's general, Cassander, who aimed at the sovereignty of Macedonia. The party of Cassander proving the more powerful, Æäcides suffered for having opposed

it: he was dethroned in his absence by the Epirots; and his son Pyrrhus, then a mere infant, was hurried off by his nurse into Illyria, where he was kindly received by Glaucias, one of the Illyrian kings. Ten years afterwards, when Cassander's power seemed on the wane, Glaucias compelled the Epirots to place Pyrrhus on his father's throne; but the revival of Cassander's fortunes again drove him into exile, and it was not till about the year 457 that Pyrrhus, after many adventures and vicissitudes, was able, with the assistance of the queen of Egypt, whose daughter he had married, to establish himself firmly in the sovereignty of his native country. Able, well trained in war, experienced in affairs, and with a mind naturally generous and improved by culture, from him great deeds were expected. Not having succeeded in an attempt which he made to possess himself of Macedonia, this daring individual considered in what other field of enterprise he would employ himself. At this juncture, a proposition was made to Pyrrhus by the Tarentines, that he should place himself at the head of the Greeks in Italy, for the purpose of resisting the conquering barbarians, as the Romans were then styled by the Greeks. This proposal seemed, on the whole, to afford his genius as ample scope as he could hope for, and he accordingly promised the Tarentines his aid.

194. It was in the winter of 473 that Pyrrhus, then in the thirty-eighth year of his age, landed at Tarentum, bringing with him a force of about 28,000 men, together with twenty elephants, to join the immense forces of infantry and cavalry which, he was told, would be raised by the Italic nations. Finding, however, that these forces were not forthcoming, and that the Tarentines wished rather to pay him to fight for them than to undergo the fatigues of war themselves, his first step was to assume the dictatorship in Tarentum, shut the theatres and other places of amusement, and compel the luxurious citizens to submit to drill. The Tarentines, finding that they had gained a master in Pyrrhus, instead of an ally, bitterly regretted their want of consideration in inviting him over, and nothing was to be heard in the town but complaints and murmurs of discontent. He nevertheless pursued his plans. The

winter passed away, and before the usual time for taking the field arrived, many of the Tarentine youths were tolerable soldiers, and Pyrrhus found himself at the head of an army somewhat more numerous than that which he had brought with him.

195. The arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy had produced a powerful sensation at Rome; and war having been declared, Publius Valerius Lævinus, one of the consuls for the year 474, marched into Lucania with an army of about 36,000 foot and 3600 horse. Pyrrhus, not quite prepared to meet such a force, sought to negotiate. Lævinus, however, would not listen to his proposals, saying that 'Father Mars alone must decide between them;' and at length the two armies stood fronting each other across the Siris, between the towns of Pandosia and Heraclea—the Romans on the right, and the Epirots and Greeks on the left bank. 'There is nothing of the barbarian in their tactics,' said Pyrrhus, as he surveyed the Roman movements across the river; 'but we shall see how they fight.' The Romans never fought more bravely. Crossing the Siris in the face of the Epirots, they began the battle—a trial of strength not between two nations only, the Romans and the Greeks, but between two totally distinct modes of fighting—the Roman *quincunx*, a peculiar array of men in small detached bodies, three in front, and ten deep, the success of which depended, to a considerable degree, on the bravery, the activity, and the good training of the individual soldiers; and the Greek or Macedonian *phalanx*, an array in vast unbroken bodies, sixteen men deep, the success of which depended almost entirely on the weight and density of the mass. Victory remained with the phalanx, although the conflict was long and desperate, and only decided at last by the help of the elephants, whose vast bulk and strange forms struck the Romans, who then beheld them for the first time with awe and terror. About seven thousand Romans were left dead on the field, two thousand were taken prisoners, the rest fled to Venusia, in Apulia, leaving their camp to the victor. The loss of Pyrrhus amounted to upwards of four thousand men. 'One other such victory,' said he to those who congratulated him, 'and I go

back to Epirus.' The enemy's slain he generously buried along with the corpses of his own men; to the prisoners he offered their liberty, and large pay, if they would enter his service; and when this offer, which Greek prisoners would almost certainly have embraced, was refused, he showed his respect for their patriotism by ordering their chains to be taken off. Pacing the battle-field after the fight, and observing that all the Romans had fallen with their faces to the enemy, he is reported to have given utterance to a sentiment natural in a captain reputed the greatest of his age: 'With such soldiers,' he exclaimed, 'the world would be mine; and were I their general, the Romans would have it.'

196. The battle of Heraclea was soon spoken of throughout all Italy. Samnites, Greeks, Lucanians, Bruttians, Apulians—all were in a ferment. Pyrrhus was their idol. Averse, however, to long wars, and really more anxious, it would seem, to promote the object for which he had been invited into Italy, than to indulge in a useless scheme of conquest, Pyrrhus, immediately after the battle, despatched his minister, Cineas, to Rome, with offers of peace and alliance, on condition that the Romans should recognise the independence of the Italian Greeks, and restore to the Samnites, the Lucanians, &c. all that had been taken from them. Cineas was a man as extraordinary as his master. A Thessalian by birth, and an Epicurean in his philosophy, he was yet a true Greek in his practice—versatile in his talents, honourable in his sentiments, profound in his political views, and so persuasive in his eloquence, that it was said he had won more towns with his tongue than Pyrrhus with his sword. Won by the attentions, and impressed by the arguments, of such a man, as well as dispirited by the threatening aspect of affairs, the senate was on the point of agreeing to the terms of Pyrrhus. At that moment, however, a bustle was heard at the door of the senate-house, and, supported by his sons and his sons-in-law, in tottered Appius Claudius, famous for his censorship thirty years before, but who now, blind, lame, and in extreme old age, had ceased to take any active interest in public affairs. He had heard of the deliberations of the senate, and he came

once more to occupy his long vacant place, and speak in the ears of the new generation an old Roman word. Rising slowly, and invoking first, according to custom, the blessing of the gods on his counsel, the blind old man addressed the listening assembly. The precise words of his speech are lost to us; but from its effects, and one or two fragments of it which the stream of tradition carried down to later times, such as the famous saying, '*Faber quisque suæ fortunæ*'—'Every man is the architect of his own fortune,' we may judge that its tenor must have been, 'Courage, Romans, and no peace with Pyrrhus!' The old man's opinion prevailed; and scarcely had he laid himself down on his couch, after the fatigue of so great an exertion, when Cineas was on his way back to Pyrrhus, to tell him that 'Rome was a temple, and its senators kings.'

197. Pyrrhus, with the forces of the southern nations at his back, pushed through Campania and Latium towards Rome, resolved, if possible, to form a junction with the Etruscans. His movements were greatly impeded, and his attempts on Capua and Neapolis foiled, by the consul Lævinus, who hovered continually on his rear. Still, Pyrrhus advanced, raising the nations through which he passed against the Romans; and already he was five miles beyond Prænesté, and within eighteen miles of Rome, when, hearing that the Romans had concluded a peace with the Etruscans, and that the army which had been serving in Etruria was now in the city, he saw the necessity of retreating. In vain did the Prænestines and Hernicans, who had joined him, implore him not to abandon them; he commenced his march southwards, followed by the one consul, Coruncanius, from the city, and opposed in his passage through Campania by the other, Lævinus, with recruited forces. 'What!' said Pyrrhus, when he saw the numerous troops of the man whom he had so recently defeated; 'am I fighting with the hydra?' No battle, however, ensued; and Pyrrhus took up his winter's quarters in Tarentum.

198. The campaign of the following year (475) was in Apulia. Pyrrhus was besieging Venusia, when the two consuls of the year, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Decius

Mus, marched to relieve it. Pyrrhus met them near Asculum. Before the battle, it was rumoured among the Epirots and Italians that Publius Decius intended to win the victory for his countrymen by devoting himself to the gods, as his father and grandfather had done. To counteract the effects of this rumour on the superstition of his men, Pyrrhus gave strict orders that if Decius appeared in the battle dressed in the sacrificial robes, he should be taken alive, in order that he might be put to an ignominious death as a common impostor—an intention which he announced to Decius himself. The Roman, however, did not contemplate such an act as that which had already made two members of his family illustrious: his skill as a general, and the bravery of his troops, were his sole reliance. Both failed: the Macedonian phalanx and the elephants again won the battle; and about six thousand Romans were slain.

199. The battle of Asculum was attended with scarcely any decided advantage to Pyrrhus; and despairing of success against the Romans, who had fortified themselves by an alliance with the Carthaginians, deprived of aid from Epirus and Macedonia in consequence of the frightful irruptions which the Gauls were then making into those countries, and tired, probably, of the enterprise itself, he became doubly anxious for peace. The consuls of the year 476, Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, afforded him the opportunity he desired, by sending him intimation that one of his attendants had offered to poison him for a reward. This information was a pure fiction, and was understood as such by both parties: it furnished a pretext, however, for an honourable conference. Cineas was again sent to Rome, the bearer of thanks, compliments, and gifts; all the prisoners were sent home without ransom; and although no formal treaty was arranged, because the senate had decreed to receive no embassy from Pyrrhus while he remained in Italy, the Romans exchanged captives, and acquiesced in a truce. Pyrrhus immediately sailed for Sicily, embracing the tempting offer made to him by some of the Greek towns of that rich island to recognise him as its sovereign, if he would assist them to expel

the Carthaginians. For three years he remained in Sicily, pursuing his favourite occupation of war; and these three years were diligently employed by the Romans in taking vengeance on those of their allies who had joined him.

200. In the autumn of 478, Pyrrhus, abandoning his Sicilian enterprise, returned to Italy. His army was numerous; but it consisted no longer of its Epirot and Macedonian veterans, but of mercenaries of all nations. To procure pay for these, he was tempted, after having taken the Greek city of Locri—which, during his absence, had gone over to the Romans—to seize a sacred treasure hid in the temple of Proserpine in that town. Epicurean as he was, he must have had some scruples of conscience about an act so contrary to the common religion of his time; and a storm having wrecked his ships on their voyage to Tarentum, he hastened, with all the eagerness of conscious guilt, to restore to the goddess her treasure. From that day, however, the superstitious observed that the wrath of Proserpine pursued Pyrrhus. In Italy, at least, his career was near its close. The Roman forces which were employed in the south on his arrival offered him no resistance; but in 479, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, and the illustrious Manius Curius Dentatus, having been appointed consuls, marched to oppose him—the former into Lucania, the latter into Samnium. In a battle fought near Beneventum, Dentatus inflicted on him so severe a defeat, that immediately afterwards he evacuated Italy, taking with him only about eight thousand men, and leaving no trace of his many victories except a garrison in Tarentum. Thus ended the famous expedition of Pyrrhus into the Italian peninsula; and two years afterwards, this high-spirited prince, whose life was almost spent in vain, because his perseverance was not equal to his abilities, died after a fresh series of brilliant actions in Greece, killed by a tile flung from a woman's hand during an attack on Argos.

201. Italy was thus left to the Romans; and ten years sufficed to extinguish the last sparks of political independence remaining anywhere in the whole peninsula, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messena. The various steps of this progress—the subjugation of Tarentum in 482;

the final reduction of the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians in the same year; the capture of Rhegium in 484; the war in 486 with the Picentians; the conquest in the two following years of Messapians and Sallentines, occupying the heel of Italy south of Apulia, and of some of the Umbrian tribes north of the Apennines; and lastly, the suppression of a revolt of serfs against their Etruscan masters in Volsinii in the year 489—these are too uninteresting to require detail. Let us rather briefly describe the manner in which the peninsula thus acquired was laid out and governed by the Romans.

202. The population of Italy, under the Roman rule, may be considered as having been distributed into three political divisions—the *Populus Romanus*, or citizens of Rome properly so called; the *Socii*, or inhabitants of the allied and dependent Italian states; and the *Nomen Latinum*, or citizens of the 'Latin name.'

203. The first of these, the Populus Romanus, included the whole body of the free inhabitants of the thirty-three tribes or parishes north and south of the Tiber, which constituted the Roman territory strictly so called, together with a considerable number of persons scattered over the other parts of Italy who were also accounted Roman citizens, either because they were of Roman descent, or because the title had been conferred on them as an honorary distinction. The total number of adult citizens towards the end of the fifth century was under three hundred thousand—a small proportion, evidently, of the vast Italian mass, which consisted, including the slaves, of about five millions. Nor were all these equal in point of civil privileges. The idea of citizenship in an ancient state implied only such rights as we in modern times include under the idea of personal liberty—the rights, for instance, of intermarriage with the other citizens; of purchasing or acquiring landed property; of suing in one's own name in a court of law; of not being liable to other taxes than such as were common and fair—and it did not necessarily include political power or participation in the government. Now, a considerable proportion of the Populus

were citizens of this description; citizens possessed of the civic franchise, but without the political suffrage. Two classes of persons would be included in this lowest grade of citizenship—the Ærarians, or persons resident in the Roman territory, but not enrolled in any tribe; and those inhabitants of foreign towns who, in compensation for the loss of their independence, were incorporated with the Roman community, but on a similarly low footing with the Ærarians. Superior to these Ærarians and foreign citizens without suffrage, were all those who stood in the censor's lists enrolled in any of the tribes. These were called citizens *with* suffrage; they had votes in the comitia both of the tribes and the centuries, and thus exercised a certain share in the government of Rome and of the peninsula. These—the real governing power by whose wishes and votes all Italy, with its millions of inhabitants, was swayed, as the body is moved by the beats of the heart—were therefore a mere handful of men, such as might be assembled with ease in any public park or square. The distinction between patricians and plebeians still operated in assigning a certain pre-eminence to the surviving families of the ancient houses, whose number, however, must have been small, probably not more than seventy or eighty. Thus we see how a few powerful families residing in Rome, or a small committee of able and energetic men sitting there, and managing a party, might, acting through the assemblies of the people, really hold the sovereign power of Italy. And such was actually the case. The Commonwealth, and through it the peninsula, was ruled by a small number of individuals, patricians and plebeians, succeeding each other, generation after generation, and possessed of the requisite talent; capable, that is, of governing upon principles which the Roman citizens approved of, and the Italian subjects could not successfully revolt against.

204. The Italian subjects were the inhabitants of the allied or dependent states. The list of these was a long one, including as it did the various communities which made up the populations of Etruria, Umbria, the Sabine territory, Samnium, Campania, Apulia, Lucania, Messapia, and Bruttium. All the allies, however, were not equally subject to

Rome: the relations in which they stood to it were determined by the particular treaties which formed the separate alliances; and these, of course, varied according to the circumstances under which they had been concluded. Thus Etruria, having made peace at a time when Rome was hard pressed, retained a greater degree of independence than Samnium. Almost all the allied states, however, were permitted to retain their own laws, their own municipal arrangements, their own judges, &c.; and the differences between them seem to have consisted in the amount of land which they had originally forfeited to the Romans, in the amount of subsidies in men and arms which were required from them, and in certain restrictions as to intermarriage, &c. with neighbouring communities, which were more severe in some parts of the peninsula than in others. Throughout the peninsula, however, care was taken to destroy every vestige of nationality or a national legislature among the allies of the same race; and in any case, the Roman people might assert their supremacy by an express interference, against which there was no appeal. Upon the whole, this change from independence to subjection to Rome was beneficial to the Italian nations. Not the least benefit attending it was the total abolition of those wars between neighbouring states which, while the peninsula was subdivided into small independent territories, had raged incessantly and fiercely. Now, the right of war was prohibited, and all differences between the states were to be decided by the arbitration of Rome. It is true the exclusion from all participation in the supreme government would in many cases be felt to be a hardship, notwithstanding the liberty which each community enjoyed, to some extent, of governing itself. There were ways, however, of diminishing this hardship—one of which was, for a subject state to fee a Roman citizen as its counsel, or attach itself to him as its acknowledged patron, just as a British colony sometimes employs a member of parliament at home to look after its interests.

205. The *Nomen Latinum*, or Latin name, was a factitious designation, applied to a number of Roman colonies scattered through the peninsula, and standing in a peculiar

relation to the mother city. Unlike the other colonies so numerously sown by the Romans in all parts of the peninsula, to act as garrisons in conquered districts, and whose members, while constituting a superior class among the conquered people, always retained their rights as Roman citizens, these colonies did not possess the Roman franchise. Equally with the Italian allies, their citizens were debarred from intermarriage with those of Rome, and from acquiring property within the limits of the strictly Roman territory. To exchange the Roman for the Latin franchise, or to become a *Latin*, as it was called, was therefore so far a political degradation. The advantages of belonging to a colony were, however, such, that citizens would in many cases quit the mother city on these terms—the more readily that the Latins enjoyed two peculiar privileges, which gave them a superiority over the mere Italian allies. These were, that any Latin might, if he had a son to leave behind him in the colony, remove to Rome, and acquire the franchise; and that all high officials in a Latin colony were instantly raised, by the fact of their being such, to the Roman citizenship. What reason the Romans had for establishing this intermediate sort of franchise at all—intermediate between the full Roman and the mere Italian—does not appear; probably it was because colonists of this description were usually of the lower classes of the Roman population; and the name Latin seems to have been adopted, either as being a convenient intermediate word between Roman and Italian, or because, originally, many of the colonists were Latins.

206. The centre of so extensive a domain, it was to be expected that the city of Rome itself would begin to exhibit the splendour and bustle of a metropolis. Accordingly, at no time in the history of Rome do we observe such proofs of general prosperity among all classes of citizens as during the ten years after the war with Pyrrhus. The vast acquisitions of domain-land had afforded little properties to all the commons; while, by the extension of the Roman dominion, and the consequent increase in the number of government officials and functionaries of all sorts—from commissioners and judges, down to revenue

clerks—a stimulus was given to commercial enterprise, and encouragement held out to business talent, even among the freedmen and the slaves. Greater refinement and luxury naturally followed. Tiles began to be used as roofing even in the poorest houses; a silver coinage was established; the wealthy began to indulge in silver plate; many new temples were built; a new aqueduct was constructed by Curius Dentatus; dramatic entertainments, chiefly musical and pantomimic, became common; the great games were celebrated with unprecedented pomp; and in the year 490, the first gladiator-fight was exhibited at Rome, as a part of the funeral ceremony of Junius Brutus—fatal beginning of a long series of bloody scenes!

207. There were not wanting some, however, who groaned over these consequences of increased prosperity, as symptoms of the decline of Roman virtue. Men of this stamp were Caius Fabricius and Curius Dentatus, long remembered for their integrity of character and severe simplicity of life. In the midst of all this increase of wealth and prosperity, it is remarkable that we find scarcely any trace of a rising Roman literature. Several fine statues of bronze, the work of Etruscan artists, had been erected, showing that the Romans had a taste for sculpture, as well as for architecture; nay, Rome herself had already produced a painter, Caius Fabius, surnamed Pictor, whose frescos in one of the temples, painted about the middle of the fifth century, were afterwards much admired; but, except some verses of Appius Claudius—who therefore, besides his other merits, is entitled to be considered the first Roman author—nothing in the form of a native written literature was yet known among the Romans. Strange people, who for five centuries had been growing in greatness, subduing all around them by the force of a superior character, and developing a political system more admirable than any which had preceded it; but who yet, although Greek literature was familiar to many of them, had not been able to produce a single book!

PERIOD OF THE COMMONWEALTH.—PART II.

CHAPTER I.

THE PUNIC WARS, AND WARS WITH THE GREEKS, B.C. 264–134.—Y. R. 490–620.

208. HAVING now seen Rome acquire supremacy of the peninsula, it is necessary, before proceeding to narrate the progress of her conquests into the countries beyond, to present a brief general description of the state of these countries; in other words, to take a glance at the condition of the world as we may suppose it to have appeared to a learned Roman of the year 490. For this purpose, let us look round the circuit of the Mediterranean, commencing from the right of the peninsula.

209. First, adjoining Italy on the east, there were what may be called the Grecian countries, including Macedonia, Greece Proper, and the Peloponnesus. Having performed a prominent part in the history of the world for upwards of eight centuries, during which they had produced poets, warriors, heroes, statesmen, historians, orators, philosophers, and artists, with a profusion which proves the Greek race to have been superior in intellectual genius to almost any which the world has seen, and having extended their language and their colonies far and wide, these countries were now the mere shadow of what they had been. Divided from time immemorial into numerous states, differing from each other in government and degree of civilisation, various attempts had been made to incorporate them under one political system. About five hundred years before Christ, or two centuries and a-half after the foundation of Rome, the Persians from the east had attempted to include Greece and the rest of eastern Europe within their vast monarchy. As a reward for the noble lead which they took in repelling these formidable foes, the Athenians had, for a period

of seventy years, held the supremacy over the other Grecian states. The famous Peloponnesian war (B.C. 431–404) transferred this nominal sovereignty to the Spartans. They held it for about thirty years; when, after a single flash of ambition on the part of the Bœotians, Philip of Macedon, having subdued the Thracians and other nations north of Macedonia, made himself master of the Greek Commonwealths also. His son, Alexander the Great, striving to realise his gigantic scheme of uniting Asiatics and Europeans as fellow-subjects of one government, had in twelve years extended his empire from the Adriatic to the Indus, thus spreading the Greek language, the Greek civilisation, and even the Greek race, over an immense tract of Asia. After the death of Alexander, in the year of Rome 430, a series of contests arose among his generals, who professed to act as lieutenants for Alexander's heirs. The family of the conqueror, however, having been murdered, the vast Macedonian empire was, about the year 450, shared among four of the surviving generals—Macedonia and Greece falling to the bloody Cassander; Thrace and Bithynia to Lysimachus; the kingdom of Asia to Seleucus; and Egypt, including Arabia and Palestine, to Ptolemy Lagus. For a period of twenty years, adventurer after adventurer, among whom was Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, struggled for the possession of the first three of these countries; and at length, about the year of Rome 475, they were incorporated under the rule of Antigonus Gonatas, the grandson of one of Alexander's generals. The period of Roman history which we have just concluded (470–490) coincides with the early part of the long reign of this prince. He was an able and humane ruler, and his supremacy was pretty generally acknowledged from the Propontis to the Adriatic; but such had been the effects of the contests of the preceding half century, and of the irruptions of the Gauls from the north, that there was no longer any hope of a real union among the Greek states. In almost all the communities both of Greece Proper and the Peloponnesus, anarchy or tyranny prevailed; and the only symptoms of fresh political vitality were the increasing importance in Greece of the Ætolians—a half-barbarous

people, who had made no figure in the better days of that country; and the formation, in the year 473, of the Achaian League, consisting of several cities of the Peloponnesus, associated in a confederacy against Macedonia. It was at this time, amid the wreck of Grecian institutions, that Epicurus and the stoic Zeno were preaching their respective systems of philosophy in Athens—systems which spread rapidly, and continued to affect the movements of society to the latest ages of Rome.

210. After Greece, the Asiatic countries attract our attention. All of these, from the Ægean Sea to the river Indus, nominally belonged to the kingdom of Seleucus. Great portions, however, of Asia Minor on the one side, and the extreme eastern countries lying between the Euphrates and the Indus on the other, were scarcely subject to him, and became fairly detached from the Syrian kingdom of his son Antiochus. In Asia Minor, besides Bithynia, there were two other independent Asiatic kingdoms—that of Paphlagonia and Pontus along the Euxine, and that of Cappadocia in the interior; and the whole line of coast of this extensive region, from the Propontis to the Levant, was studded with free Greek states and cities, of which by far the most respectable, in point both of power and of character, was the celebrated Commonwealth of Rhodes. On the other side, the countries east of the Euphrates having been less thoroughly impregnated than the more western portions of Alexander's conquests with Greek civilisation, wavered in their allegiance to the government of Seleucus; and about twenty years after the period at which we are now arrived, some of them relapsed into the possession of Asiatic rulers. Deducting these, together with Arabia, Phœnicia, and Palestine, which belonged to the Egyptian monarchy, the sovereignty of the Seleucidæ, or successors of Seleucus, may be considered as having extended only over Syria and a portion of Asia Minor. The population of these countries consisted of mixed Asiatics and Greeks; the government, however, and the institutions, were entirely on the Greek model; the Greek language prevailed in the towns; and all the power and dignity belonged to the Greeks.

211. Turning the southern angle of the Levant, we come next upon the Egyptian or Africo-Asiatic monarchy, which, on the partition of the empire of Alexander, fell to the share of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and was inherited on his death, in the year of Rome 470, by his son Ptolemy Philadelphus. It included Phœnicia, Palestine, and Arabia, the island of Cyprus, and the whole coast of Africa from the Red Sea to a point considerably west of the ancient Greek colony of Cyrene. Its population was partly Asiatic and partly Egyptian or Coptic—both overpowered and governed, like the Syrians under the Seleucidæ, by an infusion of the Greek race. Alexandria in Egypt, the capital of the Ptolemies, was a thoroughly Greek city; here Greek culture sought refuge, and Greek luxury took root; and it was the ambition of the early Ptolemies to make it the commercial and literary metropolis of the whole Greek world, under which name were now included all the coasts of the eastern half of the Mediterranean. A point of peculiar interest to us connected with the Egyptian dominion of the Ptolemies is, that it comprehended the Hebrew nation. Divided, after the death of Solomon, about the year B. C. 975, into two kingdoms, that of Judah and that of Israel, the Jews had at length lost their independence, and fallen under a foreign dominion—the latter kingdom having been destroyed by the Assyrians towards the year B. C. 725, or about thirty years after the foundation of Rome, and the former by the Babylonians about a century and a-half later. On the overthrow of the Babylonian empire by the Persians under Cyrus, about the year of Rome 235, the captive Jews were permitted to return to their own country and refound their nation under the mild dominion of the Persians. This dominion lasted for nearly two centuries, when, on the annihilation of the vast Persian empire by Alexander the Great, Palestine came under the sway of the conqueror. After his death it was annexed to Egypt, and was governed by its high priests under the Ptolemies. At the time of the war of the Romans with Pyrrhus, Ptolemy Philadelphus was showing his regard for the Jews by planting colonies of them in Egypt and other parts of Africa; and when the Romans, shortly after the conclusion

of the war, sent an embassy to Alexandria, in return for the compliment which Ptolemy had paid them in soliciting their alliance, these ambassadors might have found, amid the brilliant circles of the Græco-Egyptian capital, many able Jews, and among them the individuals who prepared the celebrated Greek or Septuagint version of the Hebrew Scriptures.

212. West from the Græco-African domain of the Ptolemies, and separated from it by a tract of desert, were the territories of the Carthaginians. About the year 825 B. C., or seventy-two years before the foundation of Rome, a colony from the Phœnician city of Tyre, then the capital of the greatest trading nation in the world, and already the mother city of various colonies along the Mediterranean coasts, founded the city of Bozra, Byrsa, or Carthage, on that point of the African continent where it projects northward towards the island of Sicily. The Phœnicians, called in Scripture Canaanites, belonged to the same original stock as the Jews, although the separation between them as nations was very marked; and the Carthaginian language was radically identical with the Hebrew. In the character, too, of the Carthaginian people, as exhibited in their history, a resemblance may be traced to that of the Jews. For about two centuries after its foundation, Carthage maintained a precarious existence, subject to the mother city of Tyre, and paying tribute to the neighbouring Libyan or African tribes. These Libyans were not negroes or Ethiopians, but a white race resembling the inhabitants of southern Europe, and reported to have first come into Africa through Spain. In the third century of her existence, however, Carthage became powerful enough to defy these tribes, and establish a chain of commercial stations along the Libyan coast; and from that time the Carthaginians performed an important part in the general affairs of the world. About the conclusion of the war between Pyrrhus and the Romans, the Carthaginian dominions included nearly the whole of modern Tunis, besides a chain of coast settlements extending to the Straits of Gibraltar, and numerous colonies in the interior; the whole island of Sardinia, with the exception of the moun-

tains which the savage natives still retained; considerably more than the half of Sicily; all the Balearic islands; and the southern portion of Spain, corresponding with the modern districts of Murcia and Granada. Of this extensive but somewhat scattered dominion, Carthage was the seat of government; the greater part of it having been actually acquired by her exertions, although some of the colonies which it included—such as Utica, Adrumetum, and Hippo in Africa, and Gades (Cadiz) in Spain—had been founded by the mother city Tyre. The nature of the Carthaginian government is very obscurely known. It seems, however, to have been a mixed constitution, with the aristocratical element predominating. Two chief magistrates, called *Suffetes*, or Judges, nominally presided over the state; and the honour of being elected to this office appears to have been hereditary in a few powerful families. The suffetes, however, were the mere chief officers of state; the real legislative power belonged to the great council or senate, consisting of a permanent body of the most eminent and most wealthy citizens, although in what manner they were appointed is unknown. All measures originated with this senate; they elected the suffetes, and also the generals-in-chief of the armies, who were distinct from the suffetes. The general body of the free people, however—consisting of mixed Carthaginians, Libyans, and half-castes—had the power of ultimately deciding in cases referred to them by the senate; and in these general assemblies of the people any one might deliver his opinion. Besides these three departments of state, there was a judicial board, or rather board of supervision, consisting of one hundred and four individuals, elected by the people for life from among the senators or others. This board exercised an undefined right of control over the government, like the Ephŏri of Sparta; and before them, civil officers guilty of misdemeanours, or the captains-general when unsuccessful in the field, were brought to trial. It is clear, from this description, that the Carthaginian government was essentially aristocratic. As was natural, however, in the case of a merchant people, the aristocracy was one rather of wealth than of birth. Avarice seems to have been the national

vice: the high offices of state were almost always bought, as among the Venetians of more modern times; and the main object of the government was to swell the public treasury by commerce and colonisation. Distress among the poorer classes was prevented by employing them to form settlements in new localities, where they grew wealthy by oppressive dealings with the native tribes. This system of colonisation also enabled the Carthaginians to be a conquering people, without undergoing the toils of war themselves. Their armies were composed of mercenaries recruited from all the less civilised nations with which they had connection—Libyans, Numidians, Spaniards, Gauls, Sardinians, &c.; and only the cavalry consisted of Carthaginians. One point in their military system, however, gave them an advantage over the Romans. Unlike the Roman generals—who, as holding the civil and military authority in conjunction, were obliged to resign the latter when their term of civil office expired—the Carthaginian generals, exercising no political function, but acting as the mere servants of the state, might retain their office for years, and thus become thoroughly acquainted with their soldiers, and be able to introduce new methods of discipline, and prosecute extensive military designs. Of the character and manners of the Carthaginians, further than what may be inferred from their being a great commercial people, little is known; no traces of their literature have remained to us to tell us their own story; we are acquainted with them only through the Greek and Roman writers. Carthage itself was probably one of the finest and wealthiest towns in the world.

213. The peninsula of Spain, with the exception of those portions of it which the Carthaginians had occupied, and one or two Greek maritime colonies, was in the possession of its native inhabitants, the Iberians, celebrated by the ancient geographers as a very warlike people, and as being raised considerably above the ordinary barbarian level by the practice of a tolerably skilful agriculture, as well as by the possession of written laws, and a native poetical literature. They were divided into tribes, which gave their names to different parts of the peninsula: to what great

stock they belonged, or what language they spoke, are subjects of dispute among historians and ethnographers.

214. From the Pyrenees to Etruria, the Ligurians, a people also of uncertain lineage, but supposed to be connected with the Celts, inhabited the lands along the coast. Beyond these, and spread apparently through the whole of Central Europe, were the Celts or Gauls, who had now, during upwards of a century, been making their existence felt by the civilised nations of the south. Beyond these, again—to the German and Sclavonic nations inhabiting Scandinavia, Russia, and the rest of northern Europe—the views of the best geographers of the fifth century of Rome could hardly extend. One tract only remains to be mentioned, with which they must have been tolerably familiar—that lying between the Adriatic and the Euxine, inhabited by Illyrians, Dalmatians, &c. who, though of Pelasgic lineage, were little in advance of the Celts in civilisation.

215. Three great powers, it appears from this survey of the state of the world, divided the shores of the Mediterranean—the Græco-Asiatic in the east, the Carthaginian or Afro-Phœnician in the west, and the Roman or Italian in the centre. Which of these was to predominate? This honour was to belong to the Romans, who, though their state was the least of the three, possessed the most vigorous vitality, and the best political system. Rome, seeing the struggle to be inevitable, began it with Carthage.

216. The rich island of Sicily, the original population of which was Tyrrhenian, had been early colonised by the Greeks, who founded several flourishing towns in it, the chief of which was Syracuse. For upwards of a century, however, the Carthaginians had contested the possession of the island with the Greeks; and even during the powerful reigns of Dionysius and Agathocles, the celebrated tyrants or despotic kings of Syracuse—the former of whom lived at the period of the Gaulish invasion, the latter during the war of the Romans with the Samnites—the western portion of the island had remained a Carthaginian dependency. The death of Agathocles, in the year of Rome 465, weakened the Greek power in Sicily. The various Greek cities were seized upon by individual adventurers; and one

of them, Messana, was forcibly occupied by a band of Samnite, Lucanian, and Bruttian mercenaries, who massacred the old inhabitants, and, under the name of 'Mamertines, or 'Followers of Mars,' became a scourge to the whole island. This prostration of the Greek power gave the Carthaginians the superiority in Sicily, and the expedition of Pyrrhus into the island was undertaken with a view to check their progress. After his departure, the Greek portion of the island was again thrown into disorder. Fortunately, however, at this juncture the Syracusans raised Hiero, a young military officer of great abilities, to the throne; and as soon as he had established his authority, he turned his arms against the Mamertines, whom he saw the necessity of expelling from the island before it could regain its prosperity. The Mamertines applied to the Romans for help: they were of Italian blood, they said, and would the Romans allow them to be destroyed by a Greek? Consistently with honour, the Romans should have refused the Mamertines their assistance, or rather they should have assisted Hiero against them; not only because the Mamertines were a ruffian population, from whom Sicily could expect no good, but also because, only a few years before, the Romans themselves had obtained the assistance of Hiero in reducing Rhegium, when that town was in precisely similar circumstances to those in which Messana now stood—that is, occupied by a band of revolted mercenaries. The Roman senate saw this; but, anxious to obtain a footing in Sicily, or at least fearing that if they did not assist the Mamertines, the Carthaginians would, and thus possess the extremity of Sicily nearest to Italy, they left the matter to be decided by the people. Heedless of justice, the people voted in favour of the Mamertines; and in the year 490, a Roman detachment, under Caius Claudius, was ordered to cross the Straits to Messana, while one of the consuls, Appius Claudius Caudex, prepared to follow with an army. Meanwhile, as the Romans had delayed so long, the Mamertines had admitted the Carthaginians into the town, and Hanno, a Carthaginian general, was now its governor. As eager to possess Messana as the Romans were, he opposed the

crossing of their vessels. Caius Claudius, however, effected the passage with a single ship, and prevailed upon the Mamertines to retract their bargain with the Carthaginians, and embrace the assistance offered by the Romans. Hanno, finding resistance hopeless, evacuated the town; a step for which the court of supervision at home ordered him to be crucified. Another Hanno arrived to command the Carthaginians in Sicily. Hiero, indignant at the conduct of the Romans, joined his forces with those of Carthage; and the two armies together laid siege to Messana. Thus, not very honourably on the part of the Romans, began the first Punic War.

217. Success at first attended the Romans. Effecting his passage to Sicily from Rhegium, notwithstanding that a Carthaginian fleet was stationed in the Straits to prevent it, Appius Claudius defeated Hiero and the Carthaginians separately, reinforced the garrison of Messana, plundered a large portion of the island, and after having advanced to the walls of Syracuse, returned home. In the following year, 491, the prudent Hiero abandoned his enterprise against Messana, and concluded a treaty with Rome, which he faithfully kept during the remainder of his long reign. The contest was thus left to be carried on between the Romans and the Carthaginians.

218. During the years 492 and 493, the war was pursued with vigour in Sicily, and Agrigentum and many other towns were taken from the Carthaginians. For these losses, they in some measure made up by ravaging the Italian coasts by means of their ships; and the Romans, who had now formed the resolution of expelling the enemy from Sicily altogether, saw the necessity of possessing a fleet sufficient to cope with theirs. For a people like the Romans, whose element had hitherto been the land, and who had never possessed a vessel larger than a trireme, to become able sailors at once, was no easy task; nevertheless, much of the difficulty was overcome by their determination to succeed. Using as their model a Carthaginian vessel which had run ashore on the Bruttian coast, they built a hundred quinqueremes, or ships of war, in two months, and during these two months about 30,000

slaves and poor citizens were busily trained to handle the oar; for in ancient sea-fights, where the first object was to sink or disable the enemy's ship, by driving into her timbers the sharp beak which projected under water from the prow of every war-vessel, much depended on the expertness of the rowers in manœuvring; and they were therefore usually at least four or five times more numerous than the mariners or fighting men. With their hastily-prepared fleet the Romans put to sea, to meet the navy of the first maritime nation in the world. There was one device, however, by which they hoped to render the superior seamanship of the Carthaginians unavailing. This was a long wooden drawbridge, called *the raven*, which stood upright against a mast in the fore-part of each vessel, but which, as soon as a Carthaginian ship came alongside, could, by means of a pulley at the mast-head, be let fall, so as to fasten itself, by a sharp prong, into the enemy's deck, and thus form a convenient gangway between the two ships. In their first naval engagement, which took place off the coast of Mylæ, in Sicily, early in 494, the Romans, under the consul Caius Duilius, gained a complete victory: thirty-one Carthaginian ships were taken, and about twenty destroyed.

219. Three years passed, during which various actions were fought, both by sea and land, without any important result. Expeditions were made by the Romans to Corsica and Sardinia, and thus they became better acquainted with the dangers of Mediterranean navigation, and better able to meet them. The Carthaginians, however, still retained their power in these islands; and in Sicily, the whole coast from Selinus to Lilybæum, and from Lilybæum to Mylæ, remained theirs. But in the year 497, the Romans resolved on the bold step of transferring the war to the enemy's own country—to the neighbourhood of Carthage.

220. Early in 498, a fleet of 330 ships, with about 140,000 men on board, a large proportion of whom were slaves, employed as rowers, lay off Ecnomus, a small town on the southern coast of Sicily between Gela and Agrigentum, ready to sail with the first fair wind for Africa. Here they were opposed by a Carthaginian fleet

of 350 vessels, sent to resist their passage. A fierce battle ensued, in which, however, by the aid of their boarding-bridges, the Romans were victorious. Thirty Carthaginian ships were destroyed, and sixty-four taken; the rest drew off, and sailed with all speed to Carthage. The consul, Marcus Regulus, after repairing the damage which his ships had sustained, re-embarked the troops, who, however, showed great reluctance to the expedition, entertaining, as they did, the most fearful ideas regarding Africa—a country of scorching heat, they thought, inhabited by prodigious serpents, and all kinds of monsters. The sight of the lovely coasts of Tunis, after a few days' sail, put an end to such terrors; and having landed without opposition at the town of Aspis, or Clupea, to the south-east of Cape Bon, the Roman soldiers were soon occupied, much to their own satisfaction, in plundering and burning the villas of the wealthy Carthaginian merchants, studded as thickly among the gardens and vineyards in the neighbourhood of Carthage, as, at the present day, are the seats of London or Glasgow merchants along the banks of the Thames or the Clyde. 'No wonder,' thought the Romans, as they revelled in their newly-acquired wealth—the rich furniture of the villas, the thousands of slaves whom they drove away to be sold, the luscious fruits of the climate, new to their taste, the enormous harvests of grain, which the Carthaginians did not venture out to defend—'no wonder that the Carthaginians were so anxious to prevent our coming hither. Had we known how well they lived, and what a country they had, we should have been here sooner!'

221. At length, by the orders of the senate, one of the consuls returned home with part of the army; Regulus remained with about 15,000 men, and established his head-quarters at Tunis, twenty miles from Carthage. The Carthaginians were in despair. Not only were all their efforts against the Romans in the field unavailing, owing to the incapacity of their generals, and the inefficiency of their motley bands of mercenaries, but the surrounding tribes of Libyans and Numidians, &c. which had long groaned under the extortions of their money-making masters, had seized the opportunity to throw off their allegiance. Two

or three hundred villages and towns were in the hands of the Romans; only Carthage, and a small circle round it, crowded with fugitives, remained to the Carthaginians. In these circumstances, the Carthaginian senate was willing to make almost any concessions to obtain peace; nor was Regulus, who seems to have been a Roman of plain habits and moderate abilities, averse to a measure which would enable him to return home with honour. The terms which he offered, however, were quite unreasonable—an acknowledgment of the supremacy of Rome; an engagement to assist her in all her undertakings, and to furnish fifty ships when she should demand them; the destruction of all their own war vessels except one; the evacuation of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic islands; the restoration of all the Roman prisoners without ransom; the redemption of all their own prisoners; and the payment of the whole expenses of the war—such were the terms offered to the Carthaginians. Eager as the merchant-statesmen of Carthage were for a peace which would enable them to resume their ordinary occupations, they were unanimous against accepting the conditions proposed by Regulus. Every device that the bloody spirit of their religion, or their native mercantile shrewdness, could suggest as likely to be of service, was put in practice. In the streets, the horrid image of the idol Moloch stood, daily receiving in his red-hot arms the children offered to him in sacrifice by their wretched parents. Within doors, in the senate, and elsewhere, the leading politicians were busy devising the means of raising mercenaries, and calculating how much money an army consisting of so many Greeks, so many Libyans, and so many Spaniards would cost, at their usual rate per head. An officer had actually been despatched to Greece to engage as many men as he could. Fortunately, he returned at the very hour of utmost necessity, bringing with him, among other Greeks, a Spartan officer of considerable reputation, named Xanthippus.

222. No sooner had Xanthippus arrived, than, perceiving his superiority to the native generals, the Carthaginians conferred on him the supreme command. The result justified their conduct; for, after submitting the

ward a detachment of the fleet under his quæstors, which Carthalo intercepted, and drove into the harbour of Heraclea. Junius himself, sailing shortly afterwards, was overtaken by a storm, which dashed to pieces 800 corn ships, and all his war vessels except two. These disasters turned the scale against the Romans, and greatly disheartened them. Claudius was recalled to Rome to appoint a dictator. In contempt, he named one of his own clerks, the son of a freedman. The senate annulled the election, and appointed another. Claudius was then brought to trial; but a voluntary exile, during which he died, appears to have saved him from further punishment. Junius committed suicide.

226. For six years (506–511), the Romans did not take courage to build another fleet, and the Carthaginians, therefore, remained absolute masters of the sea. On land, however, the former were still superior; no Carthaginian army dared to face them in any open Sicilian plain. Even this superiority, however, they were likely to lose; for in the meantime there had been appointed to the command of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily a man of greater genius than all the Roman generals of that age put together. This was the famous Hamilcar Barca, father of the still more famous Hannibal. The names Hamilcar, Hannibal, &c. appear to have been as common among the Carthaginians as the names John and James are with us; and the distinguishing appellation of the family in question was their surname *Barca;* a word identical with the Hebrew *barak*, and signifying *lightning*. Whether the *Barcæ*, or 'Sons of Lightning,' belonged to any of the great families of Carthage, is not known; but during their entire career, Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal, seem to have depended for their political support at home on a party opposed to the high aristocracy. The policy of Hamilcar, who appears to have been but a young man when he was appointed to his command, was to avoid all open warfare with the Romans, and act merely on the defensive, until he should have so drilled and disciplined his motley army of mercenaries as to be able to rely upon it. This policy he pursued for six years, during which he was con-

tent to employ his great abilities in the most unpretending manner, waiting till the proper time for action should come.

227. The state of the war was now this:—The Romans were masters of nearly all Sicily; but the Carthaginians under Hamilcar retained possession of Lilybæum and Drepanum; and there was no hope of driving them out of these strongholds, so long as there was an open communication by sea between the island and Carthage. Sensible of this, the Romans, in the year 512, made an extraordinary effort to build another fleet. The community had been so impoverished by the recent expenses, that the necessary sum was raised, not by the ordinary method of a property tax on all classes, but by loans to the state from a number of wealthy individuals. Sailing with the newly-built fleet of 200 ships, the consul, Caius Lutatius Catulus, encountered and defeated, on the 10th of March, the Carthaginian admiral Hanno, near the island Ægusa, on the west coast of Sicily. Fifty Carthaginian ships were sunk, and seventy taken with their crews. This action decided the fate of the war, and Hamilcar was instructed by the government at Carthage to enter into a negotiation with the victors. Accordingly, the following terms were agreed upon between the commanders:—Sicily was immediately to be evacuated by the Carthaginians, who were also to pledge themselves not to make war upon Hiero or his allies; all the Roman prisoners were to be released without ransom; and 2200 talents were to be paid to Rome by instalments in twenty years. These terms did not satisfy the plenipotentiaries sent by the Roman senate and people: they demanded 3200 talents in ten years, instead of 2200 in twenty; besides the cession of all the islands between Sicily and Italy. Tired of a war which was draining their coffers, and interrupting their commerce, the Carthaginians were glad to comply even with these hard terms; and Hamilcar, who was already meditating an enterprise which would afford greater scope to his genius, was not sorry to quit Sicily.

228. Thus, after a duration of twenty-three years, ended the first Punic War, the cost of which to both parties had

been so prodigious—to Italy, the choicest of its population, and a vast portion of its wealth; to Carthage, the almost total subversion of her African dominion, in consequence of the merciless system of exaction from her tributary states, which she had been obliged to pursue, to meet the expenses of her fleets and armies. Rome, on the whole, had suffered less than Carthage, for the Italian states had all remained faithful; and as each had contributed its contingent of men in the struggle, the loss had been equally spread over Italy, and no debts had been contracted by the state beyond what the Carthaginian indemnity money would cover. Besides, the war had added Sicily to the Roman dominion. This island, however, was not incorporated with the Italian territory, but was kept apart, under the name of a *Province.* The difference between the allied Italian states and the provinces, of which Sicily was the first example, consisted in this:—that while the citizens of the former held their lands freely as their own property, with the exception of what had been converted into state land, were under the general government of Rome, and contributed regular supplies of men and arms for the necessities of the state, the inhabitants of the latter paid an annual tribute for their lands, were under the absolute rule of a resident military governor, and were either entirely disarmed, or used only as auxiliaries. Sicily, for instance, was administered by a Roman prætor residing in the island, and assisted by two quæstors, and a staff of subordinate officials. All parts of the island, however, were not placed on the same footing, although the prætor's power was supreme over the whole. Hiero, the faithful ally of Rome, was permitted to retain the nominal sovereignty over the kingdom of Syracuse, simply paying tribute; and under his wise and mild government this part of the island flourished wonderfully. One or two other towns retained a kind of independence; and indeed the inhabitants of all the districts continued to be governed to a considerable extent by their own laws and customs. According to the usual policy of the Romans, however, the inhabitants of particular districts were prohibited from intermarrying with, or acquiring property from, those of other

districts; and the consequence of this was, that the Roman *Publicans*, or money-jobbers, who flocked to Sicily to farm the tributes, &c. paid by the inhabitants, were able to make a trade of buying at a cheap rate such lands as were for sale, because there were few to bid against them. Thus large tracts in Sicily came into the hands of private Romans; and indeed this and other facilities for acquiring wealth, which private individuals possessed in the provinces, made a provincial office more valuable than reputable. In many cases, the object of the prætor and his subordinates seemed to be, not to govern the provincials on sound principles, but to acquire, before the expiry of their term of office, a sufficiently large fortune to enable them to live as rich men for the rest of their lives.

229. After the conquest of Sicily, Rome enjoyed three years of peace; and during these, the only changes in the state of Italy worthy of notice were the rapid accumulation of private fortunes as contrasted with the general depression, and the visible increase of slaves over the whole peninsula, chiefly in consequence of the importation of wretched beings from Sardinia and Corsica, to supply the demand for agricultural labourers, caused by the thinning of the free population. Two new tribes, including part of the Sabine district, were also added to the Roman state, making the total number thirty-five, which from that time remained unaltered. At Carthage, however, the condition of affairs was different. There one of the bloodiest struggles on record was going on; and the merchant republic was for three years and four months in danger of being annihilated by her own hired servants. Defrauded of their promised pay by the embarrassed government, the mercenaries who had returned from serving against the Romans in Sicily had risen in revolt. They had been joined by a number of Italian deserters; and it had required little persuasion to induce the native African tribes to join an insurrection which promised to free them from the dominion of so greedy and pitiless a mistress. After a series of sanguinary punishments on the one side, and ferocious retaliations on the other, Carthage was saved by the genius

of Hamilcar: the mercenaries were defeated and destroyed; and the dependent territories compelled to return to their allegiance. Then it was that Hamilcar began to think seriously of putting into execution the plan which he had resolved upon before quitting Sicily. This was to extend the Carthaginian dominion in Spain. Possessed of this fine peninsula, he saw that Carthage would be able to offer a resistance there to Rome a thousand times more formidable than it was possible for her to do in Sicily.

230. Whether any rumour of Hamilcar's intended expedition reached Italy, cannot be known; but a change in the policy of Rome towards Carthage was now observable. During the conflict of the latter with her mercenaries, Rome had acted honourably in refusing any assistance to the rebels. She had even resisted the repeated solicitations for help made to her by the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia, who had imitated the conduct of their brethren in Africa, and seized the island for themselves. Now, however, there was an evident change in her views; and when the Carthaginians, after the conclusion of their struggle with the rebels in Africa, made preparations for recovering Sardinia—which, in the meantime, had passed from the hands of the mercenaries into those of the native Sards—the Romans peremptorily forbade them, and threatened a fresh war unless Carthage would give up her claims both to Sardinia and Corsica, and pay besides an additional contribution of 1200 talents. 'Yield,' said Hamilcar: 'make no resistance: Rome shall pay all back as soon as I shall have done what I mean to do in Spain.' The disgraceful demands of Rome were therefore complied with, and Sardinia and Corsica became a Roman province.

231. In the summer of 516, all was ready for the proposed expedition into Spain; and Hamilcar, before embarking, was offering a solemn sacrifice to the gods of Phœnicia. The omens were favourable, the sacrifice was on the altar, when, desiring the priests and the officers attending him to withdraw for a little, he called to him his son Hannibal, then a boy of nine years of age. 'Wouldst thou like to go to the wars with me, Hannibal?' said the father, fondling the boy. 'I should,' said the child eagerly.

'Then lay thy hand on this sacrifice, and swear by the gods that thou wilt never be a friend of Rome.' The child laid his tiny fingers on the sacrifice, and raising his eyes to heaven, repeated after his father the words of the oath. From that hour he knew his destiny, and nursed his soul with thoughts of war against Rome; but the oath itself remained a secret, until, many years afterwards, he told it to King Antiochus of Syria.

232. The expedition of Hamilcar was not witnessed by the Romans without demonstrations of uneasiness. For several years, however, they were fully occupied in settling Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, and in extending their dominion northward into the continental portion of Italy, by wars against the Ligurians and the Cisalpine Gauls. In the year 525, they for the first time carried their arms into Europe beyond the peninsula; and the country which first felt their prowess was Illyria. The inhabitants of Illyria—which had been extended during the recent confusion of this part of Europe, so as to include the whole stripe of the Adriatic coast from the sources of the Danube to Greece—had long been noted for their robberies and piracies; and among others who suffered from their attacks were the Italians on the east coast, and the Roman merchants generally. The Romans sent three ambassadors to Illyria to complain. These, or at least two of them, who, by their freedom of speech, had offended the savage pride of the Illyrian queen, Teuta, were murdered by her orders. This mad action was of course the signal for war; and in a few months, an army of 22,000 men, assisted by a fleet of 200 vessels, completely subjugated Illyria. Teuta was deprived of the greater part of her dominions, which were conferred on a Greek who assisted the Romans; her ships also were taken from her; and she was obliged to become tributary to Rome. This war with the piratic tribes of Illyria was of essential service to the commerce of the Adriatic, and procured the good-will of the Greeks. The Athenians and the Corinthians, both of which nations were now greatly reduced from their ancient dignity, vied with each other in paying respect to the conquering people of Italy, who on their side seemed anxious to cultivate the

good opinion of men of that famous and cultivated race which the rest of the world revered.

233. The war with Illyria was scarcely finished, when Rome, and indeed all Italy, was thrown into consternation by a threatened descent of the Gauls. Since the conquest of their territories by the Romans about fifty years before, the Gaulish tribes south of the Po had been tolerably quiet; but enraged at the occupation of some of their best lands near Ariminum by a number of Roman colonists, among whom they had been distributed by an agrarian law in 521, they invited the other Gaulish nations north of the Po and beyond the Alps to join them; and in 529, the whole savage mass was assembled ready to ravage Italy, as their ancestors had done a hundred and sixty years before. One of the consuls was absent in Sardinia quelling a revolt, but the other, with a prætor, marched northwards to arrest the progress of the Gauls. Passing between the consul's army and the prætor's, the Gauls were at first successful; and they were on their march homewards with their booty, when they were met by the other consular army which had just landed from Sardinia. Thus attacked both in front and in rear, they suffered a total defeat; and the four succeeding years (530–534) were spent in following up this blow by invasions of the various parts of Cisalpine Gaul; the effect of which was to extend the line of Roman garrisons to the Po, and the Roman influence almost to the roots of the Alps. The man of greatest distinction in these wars was Caius Flaminius, the author of that agrarian law which had been the occasion of them. As consul in the year 531, he displayed great military talents; but his reputation rests rather on his services to the community during his censorship in 534, when he commenced the construction of a great road from Rome to Ariminum, and built the Circus in the Field of Mars, which afterwards bore his name. Flaminius was an extremely ardent politician, and very unpopular with the aristocratic party, whose views he habitually opposed.

234. The Roman dominion now included the whole of modern Italy, the large islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, Illyricum, comprehending the eastern coast of the

Adriatic as far as Epirus, besides various adjacent islands, such as Corcyra (Corfu). But the career of conquest which Rome was so rapidly pursuing sustained a sudden check; and ere she could renew it, there required to be a second trial of strength between her and Carthage; for in the meantime, the Carthaginian expedition into Spain had succeeded beyond expectation. The prudence and the conciliating policy of Hamilcar had executed to admiration the scheme which his inventive genius had devised; and within nine years after he had landed with his army at the town of Gades on the Spanish coast, he had firmly established the Carthaginian dominion over the southern half of the peninsula, converting it into a Punic kingdom, where Carthage could raise armies for her service. In the year 525, Hamilcar was killed in a battle with a Spanish tribe between the Tagus and the Douro; but in his son-in-law Hasdrubal, he left behind him a man fully capable of following out his policy. Hasdrubal, by his engaging manners, gained a great ascendancy over all the Spanish tribes, so that even those of them which remained independent became favourably disposed to the Carthaginians. One of his greatest services to his country was the foundation of the town of Carthagena, or New Carthage, on a point of the Spanish coast, judiciously selected both for its commercial and its military advantages. The Romans witnessed his progress with jealous eyes. Involved, however, in the Illyrian and Gallic wars, they had contented themselves with concluding an agreement with Hasdrubal, to the effect that he was not to extend his conquests north of the Iberus or Ebro; and with establishing a friendly alliance with the Saguntines, or people of Saguntum, a town on the Spanish coast opposite the Balearic Islands, which had been founded long before by some foreign colonists of uncertain extraction, but probably Greeks. These two treaties were all that the Romans could in the meantime oppose to the growing power of Carthage in western Europe. When, however, the Gallic war was at an end, they were eager for a more active interference. One circumstance which encouraged them was, that Hasdrubal was no longer alive to oppose them, having been assassinated in the year 533 by a

Gaulish slave, whose master he had put to death. This was an event upon which the Romans would probably have congratulated themselves less, had they known that the youth Hannibal Barca, who had been appointed to succeed Hasdrubal in the command, possessed a genius not only superior to his or to Hamilcar's, but such as would eclipse the fame of every Roman then alive, and procure for him the title in history of having been probably the greatest general, and certainly one of the ablest men, the world ever saw. Removed to Spain in his early boyhood, and married to a Spanish wife, Hannibal's acquaintance with Carthage, and the state of opinion there, must have been chiefly such as a general in foreign parts is enabled to acquire by his correspondence with the government, or with private friends at home. Bred in the camp first under his father Hamilcar, and then under his brother-in-law Hasdrubal, to whom he acted as second in command, he was not a fair specimen of the Carthaginian character, but rather stood out in grand contrast to the rest of his countrymen—an enthusiast and a warrior, while they were mercantile and money-making. The second Punic War was a war, therefore, not between Rome and Carthage, but between Rome and Hannibal—the resources of a great people against the genius of an extraordinary individual. When he succeeded to the command of the army in Spain, he was only in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

235. Saguntum being the only town in Spain south of the Ebro which had not yielded to the Carthaginians, its inhabitants dreaded an attack from Hannibal, and solicited the Romans for aid. Before help could arrive, however, Hannibal, being left to his own discretion by the Carthaginian government, laid siege to the city. It was taken and destroyed in the year 535, after a desperate resistance of eight months. An embassy was immediately despatched by the Romans to Carthage, to demand the surrender of Hannibal and his principal officers. The Carthaginian senate endeavoured to convince the ambassadors that the siege of Saguntum was no breach of the treaty between Rome and Carthage. 'We will not discuss that question,' said Marcus Fabius Buteo, one of the ambassadors, holding

up the fold of his toga; 'but here, in my lap, I hold peace or war; choose which you will have.' 'Whichever you please,' said one of the suffetes. 'War, then,' said Fabius, shaking out the fold of his toga. 'We receive it heartily,' was the reply of the Carthaginians.

236. The second Punic War was thus begun. Little did either party foresee how terrible a conflict it was to be. The design of Hannibal—the design of a madman, as the Romans must have thought—was to cross the Pyrenees with his army, push his way through the Gallic tribes till he arrived at the foot of the Alps, and then forcing a passage over these mountains, to descend into Italy, and there assail the enemy in the heart of their own dominion. Thus to lay open a road from Spain into Italy was an immense enterprise. After solemn prayers for its success, and encouraged, as he believed, by visions of the gods of his fathers ordering him to proceed, the young general, now in his twenty-eighth year, set out from Carthagena, in the spring of 536, with an army of 90,000 Spanish and Libyan foot, and 12,000 horse. Of these, however, only 50,000 foot and 9000 horse crossed the Pyrenees, the remainder being either left behind, to secure the fidelity of the Celtiberian tribes north of the Ebro, or dismissed by Hannibal, because they seemed to shrink from the dangers they were about to encounter. From the Pyrenees to the Rhone the march was easy; presents and kind words secured the favour of the Gaulish chiefs; and the savage populations looked on in wonder as the strange army of dark-skinned men, attended by the enormous beasts with trunks, passed through their villages. Meanwhile, the Romans were ignorant of the real amount of the danger impending over them. One of the consuls of the year, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, had been sent into Sicily with a view to the invasion of Africa; a second army under a prætor was stationed in Cisalpine Gaul; and it was not till late in the summer that Publius Cornelius Scipio, the other consul, left Rome, and set sail from Pisa to conduct the war in Spain, which had been assigned him as his province. When he landed at Marseilles with his sea-sick army, he found that Hannibal, whom he imagined to be

yet in Spain, was on the point of crossing the Rhone many miles from its mouth, and that it was too late to prevent him. As soon as he heard that the Carthaginians had actually effected their passage in the face of the Gauls, who in that district were friendly to the Romans, he adopted the best resolution in his power; and despatching his army, under his brother's command, into Spain, where it would be useful in keeping the inferior Carthaginian generals fully employed, he himself hastened back to Rome, that he might be able to meet Hannibal with a fresh army as soon as he had crossed the Alps. Thus left unopposed, Hannibal pushed along the banks of the Iser towards the snowy barrier of Italy. Now, however, his greatest difficulties began. It was the month of October, and his men shuddered at the sight of those icy peaks which seemed to reach the sky, while the Alpine tribes, whose whole substance would be eaten up by those hungry foreigners, prepared to offer a desperate resistance. In these circumstances, the passage of the Alps at that point of the chain now called the Little St Bernard occupied fifteen days—nine of which were spent in toiling upwards through defiles and rocky passes, incessantly assailed by the mountaineers, who fell upon them in bodies, or tumbled masses of rock down upon them from the heights; two upon the summit, amid the snows, where the men, shivering with cold, were cheered by the sight of the fertile Italian plains beneath; and four in descending by rugged steeps, where, in several places, the soldiers had to level a road by means of fire and the pickaxe ere the horses and elephants could pass. At length, five months after his departure from Carthagena, and with an army reduced to 20,000 Libyan and Spanish foot, and 6000 Carthaginian and Numidian horse, and these lean and famished, Hannibal reached the country of the Cisalpine Gauls. At this time Rome possessed, according to her military register, an available force of Romans, Latins, and Italians, amounting to upwards of 700,000 men. Many of these, however, were not raised, others were already employed; and Hannibal, who knew the political condition of Italy well, founded his hopes on the expectation that, as soon as he had gained a few successes,

the allies of Rome would fall away from their allegiance. The Gauls, at least, he thought, would speedily join him, to take vengeance for their recent defeats.

237. Hannibal's entrance into Italy roused the Romans; but they were not fully impressed with the magnitude of the danger, until they received intelligence that Scipio, who had hastened into Cisalpine Gaul to meet the invaders, had been defeated in the first engagement on the Ticinus, a northern tributary of the Po. Then, convinced that Hannibal was no madman, but a formidable enemy, they became eager for the arrival on the scene of action of the other consul, Sempronius, whom they had recalled from Sicily. Sempronius, after a hasty march through Italy, effected a junction with Scipio near Placentia, now called Piacenza, on the right bank of the Trebia. Hannibal, who had crossed the Po, and was anxious for a decisive battle, which would bring the Gauls to his side, omitted no means of provoking the consuls to fight. Scipio, who had been wounded in the former battle, was obliged to permit his colleague to have the sole command. Tempted by the attacks of the Numidian horse, Sempronius did precisely what Hannibal wished, and forded the Trebia to give him battle. It was a chilly morning in mid-winter, and the Romans, cold and hungry—for they had had no breakfast—waded breast-deep across the stream to engage with the soldiers of Hannibal, who had just taken a hearty meal, and oiled their bodies before large fires. The Romans were completely vanquished; the slaughter was enormous; and the two consuls were able to escape with the wreck of the army, only because the Carthaginians did not pursue them across the Trebia. Cisalpine Gaul and its resources were now at the command of Hannibal; and unable to cross the Apennines, owing to the severity of the season, he remained here during the winter, refreshing his troops. Aware, however, how unsafe his life was among allies so savage as the Gauls, he made a practice of assuming various disguises, so as to elude any intending assassin. Thus passed the winter of 536–7: the Romans alarmed and anxious; Hannibal going about among his soldiers sometimes with patches on his eye, sometimes with a

wrinkled face and false gray hair, sometimes as a cripple with a crutch.

238. In the spring of 537 Hannibal crossed the Apennines, and advanced into Italy through the marshes of Etruria, a route by which the Romans did not expect him. The march, in a bad season, through such a tract of swamp, cost him many of his men, and all his elephants except one; and he himself lost an eye, in consequence of watching for many nights in the cold. Meanwhile, Caius Flaminius, already mentioned as an able general and eager politician, had been elected one of the consuls, greatly to the annoyance of the aristocratic party; and having set out from Rome early, lest his election should be annulled in consequence of certain unlucky auguries which were said to be occurring, he waited for the enemy at Arretium. Hannibal, however, pushed forward without giving battle; and Flaminius, thinking that fear was the cause, pursued him from Arretium to the Lake Thrasimenus. Here he was unexpectedly attacked by the Carthaginians during a dense fog, of which Hannibal took advantage in the disposition of his men. The Roman army was almost cut to pieces, and Flaminius himself was among the slain. After the victory, Hannibal dismissed, without ransom, all the Italian allies who had been taken prisoners, saying that he came not to injure the Italians, but to liberate them from the yoke of the Romans. This policy he persevered in throughout the whole of his celebrated expedition.

239. While Hannibal, after the victory of Thrasimenus, was advancing as a conqueror through Umbria and Picenum, laying waste farms and villages, the Romans, discouraged and terrified, although still not in despair, were considering which of their most eminent citizens was the fittest man to be appointed dictator at such a crisis. The choice fell on Quintus Fabius Maximus, one of the most moderate of the high aristocratic party; and Marcus Minucius Rufus, one of the leaders of the popular party, was appointed his master of horse. After presiding at certain extraordinary religious ceremonies intended to propitiate the gods, the dictator, with his army recruited by fresh levies, marched into Apulia, where Hannibal had in

the meantime taken up his quarters, in order to allow his men time to recover from their fatigue in the midst of plenty. While there, the Africans are said to have bathed their horses in the richest old wines, to restore their strength and beauty. Arrived in Apulia, Fabius did not risk a battle with Hannibal, but pursued that policy of mere caution and watchfulness which procured for him the nickname of *Cunctator*, or 'the Hesitator.' Keeping Hannibal continually in view, he followed him from place to place through Apulia and Samnium; unable, however, to gain a single advantage over so skilful an enemy. This policy was by no means satisfactory to the people in Rome; and in order, as they thought, to infuse some fresh spirit into the campaign, the senate passed a decree, conferring on the master of horse equal powers with the dictator. The result, however, showed that, upon the whole, the conduct of Fabius was the wiser; for Minucius having rashly engaged with the enemy, suffered a great loss, and was only saved from total destruction by the opportune assistance of Fabius. He immediately acknowledged his error, and resigned his joint command into the hands of the dictator, who resumed his policy of keeping near Hannibal, but doing nothing.

240. On the expiry of the dictator's term of office, new consuls were appointed for the year 538—Caius Terentius Varro, from the extreme popular party, a butcher's son, and therefore bitterly disliked by the aristocracy, but who had already raised himself to distinction by his abilities; and Lucius Æmilius Paullus, one of the leading men among the patricians, and a political opponent of Varro. Meanwhile, Hannibal was spending the winter at Geronium, apparently inactive, but sufficiently occupied in the task of providing for his motley army. As summer approached, and the corn began to ripen, he marched from Geronium to Cannæ, on the sea-coast, and seized the Roman magazines there. The consuls of the previous year, who were still lingering in Apulia, did not venture to oppose him; but the new consuls, Varro and Paullus, setting out from Rome at the head of an army of about 87,000 men, hastened to give him battle. The Carthaginians did not number more than

50,000 men in all; in cavalry, however, they were superior, and the generalship of their leader was itself more than equal to half an army. Hannibal was confident of the victory. As he was standing in the midst of his officers, on the plain of Cannæ, surveying the Roman army before the battle, one of them, named Gisco, said, 'What surprises me most, is the immense number there is of them.' 'There is another thing more wonderful still, Gisco, which has escaped your notice,' said Hannibal jestingly. 'What is that?' said he. 'Does it not strike you as odd,' replied Hannibal, 'that there should be so many of them, and yet not one of them called Gisco?' This jest, at such a moment, produced a general laugh among the officers; and it was soon spread among the soldiers that Hannibal was sure of a victory, for he was laughing. The event justified his confidence. Never did the Romans suffer such a defeat. The dead amounted to upwards of 40,000 men; the number of prisoners was enormous; and both the Roman camps were taken, with all their booty. Among the slain was Æmilius Paullus, many men of consular dignity, and upwards of eighty senators. The other consul, Varro, made his escape with difficulty. This great victory was gained by Hannibal at the expense of 6000 men. 'Let me push on to Rome with my horse, general,' said Maharbal, Hannibal's chief cavalry officer, after the battle; 'I shall reach it during the panic, and if you follow with the foot, we shall sup in the Capitol in four days.' 'A fine idea, Maharbal,' said Hannibal, 'but impracticable.' Probably Hannibal judged wisely; for although the news of the defeat of Cannæ fell at first like a death-blow on the Romans, they speedily recovered their resolution, and began to adopt measures for repairing the misfortune. Varro, who had collected the wreck of the defeated army, and, by his firm conduct, had prevented a number of the fugitives from carrying out their intention of quitting Italy to embark in some foreign service, was received at Rome with honour. No blame was attached to him for his concern in the defeat; but, on the contrary, his merits were remembered, and he was publicly thanked by the senate, 'because he had not despaired of the Common-

wealth.' A dictator was appointed; great exertions were made to raise fresh legions; the vacancies in the senate were filled up; and an offer which Hannibal made to restore the prisoners he had taken at a moderate ransom was rejected, on the ground that Rome was not so reduced as to be obliged to avail herself of the services of men who had suffered themselves to be defeated. Hannibal, accordingly, to raise money, sold the prisoners as slaves.

241. The battle of Cannæ, shaking, as it did, the allegiance of the Italian states, opened to Hannibal the gates of the rich and luxurious Capua, the second city in Italy. Here he took up his winter quarters, resolved to maintain his position, and to act from it as a centre of mischief against the enemy—in the first place stirring up, by his own personal activity, the disaffection to the Roman dominion which now manifested itself throughout southern Italy; and in the second place, conducting, through his agents, the wars against the Romans which were going on in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. By this double process, of eating into the power of Rome at the centre, and assailing it at the extremities, he hoped to accomplish its total ruin. Accordingly, the latter part of the year 538, and the whole of 539, were spent by him in apparent repose, but real labour, in Capua and its neighbourhood. The smallness of his forces, to which, with the exception of a number of Italian auxiliaries, he had received scarcely any addition since his entrance into Italy, obliged him to be content with attempting a few sieges in the meantime, until he should receive reinforcements from Africa and Spain. The continual presence, however, in southern Italy, of Fabius Maximus and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the consuls for the year 539, and of the brave prætor Marcellus, impeded even these unimportant attempts, and caused Hannibal to turn his views with greater anxiety to the means of attacking the Romans out of Italy. He derived some hope from an insurrection against them in Sardinia, which his agents had stirred up; but this movement was soon suppressed. In Sicily, the state of affairs seemed more favourable. Hiero, the good king of Syracuse, whose steady friendship with the Romans not even the battle of Cannæ

had been able to interrupt, died in the year 539, in extreme old age; and already the Carthaginian emissaries of Hannibal were intriguing with his grandson and successor, Hieronymus, a silly and licentious youth, with a view to detach Syracuse from the Roman cause. More important still, Philip, the young and ambitious king of Macedon, eager to attack the Romans, whose encroachments on the Greek territories he dreaded, sent an embassy to Hannibal in Campania, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him. Fortunately for the Romans, the ambassadors were captured on their return home—a circumstance which delayed Philip's meditated descent upon Italy to co-operate with Hannibal. The habitual niggardliness of the Carthaginian government, aided by the influence of the anti-Barcine political faction, likewise restrained Hannibal's movements in Italy, by stinting him of the necessary reinforcements. It was towards Spain, however, the country which he himself knew best, and where his brother Hasdrubal commanded, that Hannibal looked most confidently for help. The regular arrival of new levies of Spaniards in Italy by the route which he had laid open across the Alps—this was an essential part of his calculations. Here, therefore, appeared the wisdom of the step which the Roman consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, had adopted in the year 536, when, on finding that he had arrived at the Rhone too late to arrest Hannibal's progress towards the Alps, he had sent forward his army, under his brother's command, to Spain. For, having joined his brother there as soon as the year of his consulship had expired, their joint activity in carrying on the war had been such as totally to prevent the despatch of any fresh levies of Spaniards into Italy. The news of the successes of the Romans in Spain must have been the greatest disappointment experienced by Hannibal while quartered in Capua. Nevertheless, this disintegration of Italy from Campania within, and this gathering storm against Rome from Sicily and Greece without, must, he thought, end according to his wishes.

242. The exertions which the Romans had made during the year 539 to raise men and supply money for the war,

had been almost incredible; and, encouraged by the slight successes of Marcellus against Hannibal in southern Italy, they began the year 540 with a zeal and activity worthy of a proud nation. Fabius presided over the election of the consuls for that year. 'Come, come,' said he bluntly to the people, when the first century had given its vote for Titus Otacilius and Marcus Æmilius Regillus, 'these are very good men for ordinary times, but they will not do this year; remember Hannibal is in Italy.' The century accordingly voted over again, and chose Fabius himself, and Marcellus; and the other centuries unanimously confirmed the choice. The consuls with two legions each, Gracchus as proconsul with two legions, Lævinus as proconsul with one, and Varro and another prætor with three, were all to be employed in Italy. Besides these forces, there were two complete city legions as a reserve, Roman garrisons in all parts of Italy, and guerilla bands of enfranchised slaves and armed robbers, whose aid Rome, on such an occasion, did not disdain. There were, moreover, large armies in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain; and a watchful eye was kept upon Greece, where, in the meantime, the Romans had provided employment for King Philip, by stirring up the Ætolians against him. Against this lavish display of the zeal and resources of a great people, Hannibal could oppose only his own military genius and skill in managing detached events, so as to make them cooperate. Hence the common story that the Carthaginian army was enervated, and rendered effeminate, by luxury during its stay at Capua, is nothing more than a poetical way of stating the fact, that, owing to the great exertions which the Romans made, and the little help which Hannibal received, the winter at Capua became the turning-point of the war.

243. The year 540 produced no decided result. Hannibal gained no new victory, and failed in attacks upon Tarentum and several other places: he still preserved his footing in southern Italy, surrounded and watched by the Roman armies. The following year was equally barren of incidents, the only advantage of consequence which he gained being the capture of Tarentum by a

bold and ingenious stratagem. While he was employed in the neighbourhood of this town, the Romans were gradually recovering their strength in Campania; and it is difficult to understand why, with such large forces at their disposal, their progress was so slow. At Rome, however, affairs were in that confusion which the occupation of the public mind, and the expenditure of the public resources in so long a war, naturally produced; a paper currency was in circulation to supply the scarcity of coin; and although among the citizens there were many whose patriotism and public spirit were exemplary, there were others intent upon nothing else than turning the general distress to their own private advantage, as army-contractors and money-lenders.

244. The year 542 was more eventful than either of the preceding. Still maintaining their large forces both in and out of Italy under the command of the consuls, proconsuls, and prætors of the year respectively, the Romans now concentrated their efforts on two points—Capua and Syracuse. The recovery of the former from the Carthaginians, who had now held it for three years, was in every point of view exceedingly desirable. Nor was the capture of the latter less important. The silly Hieronymus, puffed up with the hope which the Carthaginian emissaries of Hannibal held out to him of becoming king of all Sicily, had broken the alliance which for nearly fifty years his grandfather had kept with the Romans. He was murdered, however, by a conspiracy formed against him by the Roman party in Syracuse. For two years after this event, Syracuse and its territory were the scene of a confused and bloody conflict between the Roman and Carthaginian parties—a conflict in which the armies under Marcellus, who had acted as proconsul in Sicily since 539, took an active part, and which the Carthaginians surveyed with no little anxiety from a distance. At length, in the year 541, the Carthaginian, or popular party, had gained the supremacy; and the Romans having been formally defied, Marcellus, now about sixty years of age, but still fiery and active, had begun the siege of Syracuse by land and sea with a force of 20,000 men. For such an army, in ordi-

nary circumstances, the capture of this city would have been an easy task. But at that time there lived within the walls of the besieged city an old man of seventy-four years, who, though his body was weak and decrepit, possessed a mind capable of greater things than the defence of fifty Syracuses. This was the famous mathematician and mechanician Archimedes. A relative and friend of Hiero, he had lived at that good king's court, pursuing in quiet those studies in which he delighted, and the fruits of which were to survive all the petty brawls which then agitated nations — so abstracted in mind, that when his attendants took him out of the bath, he would draw mathematical figures with his finger among the ashes of the fire, or on the oil with which they anointed his body. He had taken no part in the commotions which followed the death of his friend and patron Hiero; but now that his native city was besieged by the Romans, he willingly abandoned his more congenial pursuits, to employ his engineering skill in its defence. Daily might the old man be seen trudging along near the city walls, giving directions to workmen employed, some in building, others in digging. He constructed artillery, which shot stones and other missiles upon the Romans while yet they were at a distance; he bored loopholes in the walls, through which, when the enemy came close, they could be fired upon; and when a hostile ship made too near an approach to that part of the town which the sea washed, he had a machine like a crane ready to swing its great black arms over the wall, and either cast vast blocks of metal on the deck, or seize the prow of the vessel by an iron grapple, so as to lift it out of the water, and let it dash down again. Such was the terror with which he inspired the besiegers, that at length the mere sight of a pole or a ladder-top projecting above the wall would make the soldiers scamper off, alarming each other with the cry that this was another engine of Archimedes. Marcellus was finally obliged to abandon the hope of taking the town by assault, and trust to the chances of a blockade.

245. While Archimedes was thus acting as an ally of Hannibal in Sicily, Hannibal himself was busily employed

in southern Italy, partly in the general task of thwarting the enemy wherever they appeared, partly in special attempts to relieve Capua, which the Romans had been besieging since the spring of 542. The latter he hoped to effect at first by sending detachments of his horse from his position in Lucania. At length, however, he was compelled to make a sudden march to Capua in person. His appearance scattered the assembled Roman forces like chaff. No sooner, however, had he returned to Lucania, than the siege was resumed; and two concentric walls were built round Capua, one for blockading purposes between the besiegers and the city, the other as a defence to the besiegers against the approach of Hannibal from the open country. Early in 543, Hannibal, who, since his last appearance at Capua, had gained two great battles, and passed the winter in Apulia, hastened to save the beleaguered city. The outer wall which the Romans had built protected them; and Hannibal, unable to force it, saw the necessity of some bold stroke if he wished to prevent the loss of Capua. Accordingly, quitting his position during the night —he did on this critical occasion what he had not ventured to do even after his victory at Cannæ—he marched direct towards Rome.

246. The smoke of burning cottages seen from the city walls, the influx at the gates of crowds of fugitives, and the sight of troops of strange horsemen sweeping along the plain, were the first warnings which the people of Rome received of the approach of the dreaded Hannibal. A few days' march, by some route which cannot now be traced, had brought him from Capua to Rome; and he encamped within four miles of the city. Senators in deep consultation; men crowding in the streets; women praying in the temples—such were scenes within the city. Fortunately, it was the day on which two new legions had been ordered to assemble, one for enlistment, the other for review; and in consequence of this, as well as of the influx of fugitives from the country, the city was unusually full of fighting-men. Hannibal, therefore, did not assail it, but contented himself with ravaging the country round, waiting till the intelligence of his presence

so near the capital should produce its intended effect in breaking up the Roman encampment at Capua, and so relieving the town. In this, however, he was disappointed: only a detachment of the besieging army, under the consul Quintus Fulvius, marched for the relief of the capital; and the siege of Capua was not raised. Having failed in his main design, but probably hoping that the Capuans had at least derived some benefit from his bold diversion in their favour, he commenced his retreat, pursued by Fulvius. A few days of rapid marching, and some irregular fighting, brought him back safe to the extreme south of Italy, where, after an unsuccessful attack on Rhegium, he relapsed into repose. Thus one of the boldest marches on record had failed, because, while executing it, Hannibal had left no one behind him possessed of abilities sufficient to turn it to account.

247. Bereft of its last hope, Capua surrendered early in the year 543. A number of the chiefs of the Carthaginian party committed suicide; many others were put to death; all the free population were sold; and the whole territory of the town was confiscated. The rest of Campania suffered severely; scarcely a Campanian was allowed to retain the lands which had belonged to his forefathers; and Hannibal, warrior as he was, must have thought with grief on the ruin which his expedition had brought upon this fair region of Italy, and the sad death of many noble Capuans, in whose houses he had often passed his evenings in the winter of 538–9. Naturally, however, he was most concerned by the damage done by the fall of Capua to the Carthaginian cause. This was all the greater, now that the Romans had recovered the greater part of Sicily also. For, in the meantime, Syracuse had been taken, Marcellus having effected his entrance into part of it during the night of a great festival when the ramparts were ill watched, and having reduced the rest after a long and obstinate resistance. The plunder of the city, one of the richest in the world, was the reward of the Roman soldiers. During the horrors of the pillage, Archimedes lost his life —killed, according to the common story, by a soldier, who opened the door of his apartment, and found him absorbed

in a mathematical problem. The fall of Syracuse, which happened late in the year 542, would have given the Romans the mastery of all Sicily, had not Hannibal immediately sent into the island one of his ablest officers, a Carthaginian half-caste, named Mutines, with instructions to contend every inch of ground with the Romans. The talents of Mutines were such as to protract the war in Sicily for nearly two years.

248. Meanwhile, the armies of the Commonwealth had been losing ground in Spain. After having done great service to the cause of their country by their efforts during six years in this country, the two Scipios were defeated and killed in the spring of 543, by the Carthaginians under the command of Hasdrubal Barca. Only a few posts between the Ebro and the Pyrenees remained in the possession of the Romans. It was fortunate for them that this calamity did not occur long before the fall of Capua, otherwise they might have been obliged to abandon Spain altogether. As it was, however, they were able to despatch Caius Nero as pro-prætor; and rendered doubly alive to the importance of retaining their footing in that country, by intelligence which reached them of an intention on the part of Hasdrubal Barca to follow his brother into Italy, they resolved, in the beginning of 545, to appoint a proconsul to thwart his plans, and detain him in Spain. No one presented himself as a candidate for an office of such difficulty, except Publius, the younger son of Publius Cornelius, one of the two Scipios. He was only in his twenty-seventh year, and had filled no higher office than that of curule ædile. For any other man in such circumstances to have become a candidate for the proconsulship, would have been deemed arrogant; but young Scipio was recognised as no ordinary character. Possessed of courage and ability which had already manifested itself on important occasions, distinguished for manly beauty of person, and beloved for a certain gentleness of disposition rare in a Roman, he was most of all remarkable for an extraordinary religious fervour, amounting to a belief in his own powers as a supernatural instrument of the gods. Young as he was, the tribes unanimously

elected him; and, with a considerable force, he set out for Spain.

249. Scipio's appearance completely changed the aspect of affairs. Scorning a petty warfare north of the Ebro, he struck a decisive blow at the Carthaginian dominion in the peninsula, by besieging and taking its capital—New Carthage. His conduct after this bold feat was so conciliatory to the native Spaniards, and his activity in consolidating the Roman power so great, that the three Carthaginian generals, Hasdrubal Barca, Mago Barca his brother, and Hasdrubal Gisco, found their influence in the peninsula almost destroyed. Hasdrubal Barca, indeed, possessed abilities and virtues which would have enabled him to resist even Scipio; but he saw the necessity of no longer delaying his meditated march into Italy. Accordingly, collecting an army of Africans, Spaniards, and Gauls, and skilfully evading Scipio, he crossed the Pyrenees early in 547, and pushed on rapidly for the Alps. Once arrived in Italy, and in communication with his brother, the war would soon be brought to a conclusion; and, meanwhile, Spain might be left to its fate.

250. Since the fall of Capua in 543, Hannibal had remained in southern Italy, baffling, by his admirable generalship, every attempt of the best Roman commanders—Marcellus, Fabius, Fulvius, and Lævinus—to gain an advantage over him. Wherever he appeared, he drove the Romans—a mass of fugitives—before him; and if, upon the whole, he lost ground, it was only because he could not be present everywhere. The recapture of Tarentum by the help of treachery, the detachment of some of his Italian allies, the formation of a league with the Ætolians against Philip of Macedon, and the total reduction of Sicily, where Mutines proved false to the Carthaginian cause—these were the advantages which the Romans had gained. On the other hand, they had to reckon among their losses the death of Marcellus, killed in a skirmish, and honourably buried by Hannibal; the complete draining of their exchequer, so that a voluntary subscription of money from all classes was necessary; such a general impoverishment of the whole peninsula, that the price of corn had risen to

twelve times the usual sum; and, worst of all, the shaken allegiance of those of their subjects on whom they placed greatest dependence—the Etruscan allies, and the Latin colonies. In short, the strength of the Romans was so prostrated by the exhaustion of their resources, that the news of the approach of Hasdrubal caused a general shudder of alarm. The consuls chosen in this crisis were Caius Nero and Marcus Livius; the latter a sullen and misanthropic man, who had retired from public life because of a false prosecution to which he had been subjected several years before, and who now accepted the office with reluctance. Nero was to oppose Hannibal in the south of Italy; Livius, Hasdrubal in the north.

251. It was the summer of 547; and Hannibal, knowing that his brother had set out from Spain, but not knowing the precise time at which he would arrive in Italy, was waiting for intelligence in Bruttium, ready, as soon as it should arrive, to force his way past Nero, so as to effect a junction with his brother. Long and anxiously he waited, unable to take any step until he should learn by what route his brother proposed to march southwards through Italy. At length one day a bloody head was brought to him, which had been flung during the night into his camp. It was the head of his brother Hasdrubal, whose fate he now learnt. Arrived in Italy, Hasdrubal had despatched six swift Numidian couriers with a letter to Hannibal informing him of his proposed route. The couriers had been intercepted by Nero; and as the letter was written in the Carthaginian language, its contents were easily known. Adopting a sudden resolution adapted to the circumstances, Nero had hastily marched, without Hannibal's knowledge, to the north of Italy; had there joined his colleague Livius; and the two together falling on Hasdrubal's army, defeated it on the banks of the Metaurus by force of superior numbers. Hasdrubal had died fighting bravely; and at the very hour when Hannibal was gazing on the ghastly features of his brother, which the brutality of the Romans had dared thus to present to his view, Rome was ringing with shouts of joy for the great victory of the two consuls at the Metaurus.

252. It is reported that, as Hannibal gazed on his brother's features, he uttered only these few words, 'I see the doom of Carthage.' The prophecy, if really made, was a true one. Had Hasdrubal effected a junction with Hannibal, Italy might have been conquered, and the destinies of the world changed; but from the day of the battle of the Metaurus, the star of Carthage waned. Not, however, in Italy was the strength of Rome regained; for Hannibal was in Italy, and wherever Hannibal was, there Rome was weak. The field on which she recovered her fortune was Spain; the agent through whom she recovered it was Scipio. Freed from the presence of Hasdrubal Barca, the young proconsul had found little difficulty in thwarting the plans of the two remaining Carthaginian generals, Hasdrubal Gisco and Mago Barca; and after a series of successes, interrupted by a formidable mutiny among the Roman troops, which probably none but Scipio could have quelled, he reduced the Carthaginian power in Spain to such a low ebb, that, towards the conclusion of the year 548, Hasdrubal and Mago received orders from Carthage to evacuate the country. Hasdrubal returned to Carthage; Mago occupied the island of Minorca, from which, in obedience to Hannibal's instructions, he was to sail as soon as possible for Liguria, in order to repeat the enterprise of his brother Hasdrubal, and rouse the northern Italians. Scipio returned to Rome, where, as a reward for having added Spain to the Roman dominion, he was immediately elected to the consulship, although under the usual age. He had already taken some steps preliminary to the execution of a grand scheme which he had conceived—an invasion of Africa. As Hannibal had assailed the Romans in Italy, so Scipio proposed to assail the Carthaginians in their own country. To facilitate this enterprise whenever he should be able to undertake it, he had, before returning to Rome, taken the bold step of sailing to Africa, to attempt a negotiation with Syphax, king of the Massylians, a powerful Numidian nation, allied and adjacent to the Carthaginians, although not tributary to them. He appears to have succeeded in obtaining a promise from Syphax to co-operate with the Romans, if they should invade Africa

— a promise which was not kept; for, shortly after Scipio's departure, Syphax married Sophonisba, the beautiful daughter of Hasdrubal Gisco, and was thus firmly attached to the Carthaginian cause. This match, however, if it robbed Scipio of the aid of Syphax, assured him, according to the common story, of that of another Numidian prince—Masinissa, a young barbarian of superior accomplishments, but of dishonest and treacherous disposition, who, although serving under the Carthaginians in Spain, had already held several secret conferences with the Romans. Masinissa, it is said, was a lover of Sophonisba; he had also been deprived by Syphax and the Carthaginians of his paternal dominion; and these two disappointments rendered him eager for the opportunity of vengeance, which an invasion of Africa promised him.

253. The senate was averse to Scipio's design of invading Africa; the year of his consulship, therefore, was spent in Sicily; and it was not till the spring of 550, that, with the title of proconsul, and with a fleet and forces raised principally by his own exertions, he landed on the Carthaginian coast. Here, after a short time, Masinissa joined him; and assisted by the Numidian followers of this prince, the Romans, after ravaging the country, laid siege to Utica. Hasdrubal Gisco and Syphax took the field against them; and the contest might have continued long, had not Scipio—acting on information which he received, that the huts of the enemy were constructed of thatch, reeds, leaves, and similar combustible materials—conceived the horrible project of setting fire to their camp during the night, and murdering them as they tried to escape from the flames. This bloody scheme he executed with complete success. In one night upwards of 50,000 men—Carthaginians, Numidians, and mercenaries—were massacred amid the flames kindled by the orders of one of the gentlest of Roman generals, and this at the very time when the suspicions of the victims had been lulled by negotiations purposely entered into, and but newly broken off! Syphax and Hasdrubal Gisco escaped with a small remnant of the army; the Numidian dominions of the former, however, were speedily invaded by Masinissa, and Lælius, the lieu-

tenant of Scipio; and the unfortunate king was taken prisoner. On the same day, his wife, Sophonisba, was publicly espoused by her former lover Masinissa, who had hastened on to Cirta, the capital of Syphax, in advance of Lælius. This marriage of Masinissa, however, to the daughter of the Carthaginian Hasdrubal, seemed dangerous to Scipio; and when Masinissa returned to the Roman camp, he was required to give up his bride. Tears and intreaties were in vain; and the jealous African, in despair, sent a messenger to Sophonisba with a cup of poison, which he desired her to drink if she would die as became a queen. Sophonisba drank the poison; Masinissa was consoled for her death with the title of king, and other honours conferred on him by the Romans; and Syphax was sent a captive into Italy, where he spent his last years.

254. The destruction of the Carthaginian army, and the progress of Scipio in Africa, obliged the senate of Carthage to recall Hannibal from Italy. After having received the fatal news of the battle of the Metaurus, Hannibal had resolved to remain in Bruttium; and such was the terror with which his name inspired the Romans, that hardly an effort was made to dislodge him. The landing of his brother Mago in Liguria, and the capture there of the town of Genoa, afforded him a momentary gleam of hope. This, however, was speedily extinguished, by the intelligence that Mago, having been defeated and mortally wounded in a battle with the Romans, had died on his passage home; and Hannibal accordingly abandoned the idea of protracting the war in Italy, and prepared to obey the orders of the Carthaginian senate. Embarking his troops without interruption from the Romans, he set sail, early in 552, from that country in which he had spent fourteen of the best years of his life, and which he was destined never to see again. He had crossed the Alps a man in the prime and bloom of youth; and he was yet only in his forty-sixth year. During the long period of his stay in Italy, he had kept all its populations in a state of agitation and alarm; he had weakened and impoverished Rome, defied her armies, and baffled her generals; nor had he ever once lost a battle, or committed a military fault.

The misfortunes of others, and not any error of his own, rendered it necessary for him now to quit Italy. His departure was like the abatement of a pestilence, and the peninsula began again to breathe freely.

255. Hannibal apparently thought Carthage too weak to be able to carry on the war longer with success. The rapid successes of the enemy, and, above all, the capture of Syphax, had so disheartened the Carthaginian senate, that they had entered into negotiation with Scipio, and had expressed their readiness to accept the terms which he proposed. A truce had accordingly been agreed upon, to allow time for correspondence with the Roman senate and people. In the momentary burst of hope, however, which Hannibal's presence occasioned, the Carthaginians broke the truce with Scipio by seizing a convoy of provisions destined for his army. This breach of faith renewed the hostilities; and Hannibal led out his forces against those of Scipio. Convinced, however, that in the present circumstances Scipio was likely to prove the stronger, and that, if the Carthaginians should lose the battle, they would be obliged to accept much harder terms than those which were then in their power, Hannibal endeavoured, both by remonstrances with his own government, and by a personal conference with Scipio, to bring about a treaty. His exertions failed; and a great battle was accordingly fought between the two armies at Zama, a town about five days' journey west from Carthage. The Romans, in consequence, chiefly, of the preponderance which Masinissa's Numidian horse gave them, were completely victorious: 20,000 Carthaginians were slain, and as many taken prisoners; and Hannibal escaped with only a small remnant of his army. As he had foreseen, the terms of peace which Scipio now proposed to the envoys sent to his camp by the Carthaginian senate were much more severe than those which might have been procured before the battle. They were, that the Carthaginians, retaining their dominions in Africa, should abandon their claims to any country out of it; that they should restore all Roman prisoners and deserters; surrender all their elephants, and all their ships of war except ten; promise not to engage in any

war out of Africa, nor in any war in Africa, without the consent of the Romans; reinstate Masinissa in his property; and, besides various other immediate sums, pay to Rome 10,000 talents as indemnity money, at the rate of 200 talents a-year for fifty years. As a security for the performance of these conditions, a hundred hostages, between the ages of fourteen and thirty, were to be given to the Romans. Hard as these terms were, the Carthaginians had no alternative; and Hannibal advised them by all means to accept them. So earnest was he in this advice, that when a Carthaginian of consequence was speaking in the senate against the peace, Hannibal went up to him and forcibly dragged him to his seat, satirically excusing himself, when the senate rebuked him for so gross a breach of the privileges of the house, by saying that, having been absent from Carthage from his boyhood, he did not know its forms. His advice was at length followed, and the peace was agreed to.

256. Having thus concluded the second Punic War, the victorious Scipio returned to Italy to receive the applauses of his countrymen. From that day forward he bore the name of Scipio *Africanus*, in commemoration of his triumphs in Africa: he was the first also upon whom the Romans conferred the title of 'The Great.' He appears not to have taken a very prominent part in public affairs after his return, but to have preferred a life of retirement; and when the people wished to make him perpetual censor, he refused the honour. Proud and kingly in his disposition, he would not condescend to the strife of the Forum, where he could act only as an individual citizen contending with others; hence it has been remarked, that great as his moral influence over the Romans must have been, we do not hear of any specific law or institution which proceeded from him. Far different was the conduct of Hannibal. With a reputation as a general, which even Scipio could never hope to possess; in all respects a man of equal literary cultivation, for Greek literature was as familiar to him as to Scipio; endowed with far greater versatility of genius, and far stronger affections—Hannibal no sooner found his career as a warrior

interrupted, than he began his career as a statesman. As often happens to great generals, when they return to the country whose battles they have been fighting abroad, he found himself at the head of his country's affairs. With the same vigour with which he had acted in the field, he undertook the task of reforming the constitution of Carthage, repressing the numerous abuses which resulted from the gross selfishness of the powerful citizens, and ordering the finances in such a manner, that while the annual instalment of the Roman indemnity money was regularly paid, the condition of the people generally continued to improve. The task of reforming so corrupt a government, however, was beyond even Hannibal's strength; and the greatest man that Carthage had ever produced soon became the most unpopular in it.

257. Already masters of Italy with its islands, of Illyricum, of Spain, and of part of Gaul, and exercising, besides, the virtual control over the whole northern coast of Africa from Carthage to the pillars of Hercules, the Romans, after the conclusion of the second Punic War, began to consider what countries they should next attack. Their own desires, no less than the course of events, turned their attention to Greece. The treaty concluded between Philip of Macedonia and Hannibal had drawn the Roman armies into Greece, where, co-operating with the Ætolians, they had not only kept Philip constantly employed, and unable to assist Hannibal, but had also helped to reduce the remnant of power which still remained to the Macedonian monarchy. The Ætolians, however, had made peace with Philip about the year 547; and two or three years later, the Romans had likewise concluded a treaty with him, on terms so disadvantageous, that it was evident they meant to resume the war at a convenient opportunity. Meanwhile Philip entered into an alliance with Antiochus the Great of Syria, the design of which was to increase the Macedonian and the Syrian dominions at the expense of Egypt. This struggle between the three fragments of the empire of Alexander the Great, naturally interested all the states in the eastern portion of the Mediterranean. The Rhodians, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, took part with

Egypt. Philip and Antiochus, however, gained their end, and expelled the Egyptians from Asia Minor.

258. Scarcely had Philip and Antiochus congratulated themselves on their triumph, when the Romans, now free from the fear of Carthage, plunged into the affairs of the East. On the plea of interfering in behalf of the Athenians, whom the Macedonian monarch was oppressing, they, in 554, declared war against him, and sent their legions into Greece. Joined within Greece by the Ætolians, the Bœotians, and the Achaian League, which included nearly half the Peloponnesus, and assisted out of it by the Rhodians, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, the Romans were successful; and in the year 557, Philip, after a severe defeat in Thessaly, was obliged to submit at discretion to their proconsul, Titus Quinctius Flamininus. The condition of Greece, and the arrangement of its various states, now remained to be determined by the Romans; and they made a magnanimous use of their power. The Macedonian supremacy was broken up; the Macedonian garrisons were withdrawn from every Greek city, whether in Europe or in Asia; and at the great games held on the Isthmus of Corinth, and to which all the Greeks thronged, it was solemnly proclaimed that the Romans, having delivered Greece, did not wish to be masters of it; and that from that hour every Greek state was to be free and independent. Accordingly, the various states and cities in Greece and the Peloponnesus immediately re-established the forms of government to which they had been accustomed, each in the exercise of perfect freedom; and with the exception of one or two towns kept as military stations, and which were to be evacuated as soon as possible, the only connection which the Romans retained with Greece was the moral one of having earned its gratitude. This relation, however, was of too delicate a character to endure long; and already in the condition of Greece, and especially in the unruly conduct of the Ætolians, who were indignant that they had not been raised to that supremacy from which Macedonia had been deposed, there were manifest indications that Rome must tighten

the political connection between the two sides of the Adriatic.

259. Having conquered Philip, the Romans prepared for a contest with his ally, Antiochus of Syria, who obtained the name of Great, not from his abilities, but from the fact, that he reigned in unusual tranquillity over the vast dominions which he had inherited from his ancestors. The interests of Antiochus had suffered from the peace made between his ally and the Romans; and the Romans, moreover, in their new capacity as champions of the liberty of the Greeks, had intimated their resolution to compel Antiochus to restore to freedom the Greek cities of Asia Minor. In these circumstances, the haughty and rich Syrian monarch prepared to try his strength with this arrogant nation of the west. Fortunately for his scheme, had he known how to avail himself of the advantage, there was then by his side the man best qualified in the whole world to conduct the war. This was Hannibal, who, having made himself so unpopular among the Carthaginian politicians by his reforms, had at length, in the year 559, been obliged to flee from Carthage, to avoid being surrendered to the Romans, who, stimulated, it is said, by a party among the Carthaginians themselves, had begun to be suspicious of his designs, and had meanly, though contrary to the advice of Scipio, sent an embassy to Carthage with instructions, if necessary, to seize his person. The prospect of employment against his old opponents led him to the court of Antiochus at Ephesus, where he instantly assumed a leading part. His advice was, that Antiochus should enter into alliances, if possible, with the Macedonians, the Carthaginians, and the Ætolians; and that the Romans should be attacked in two simultaneous invasions—an invasion of Italy, to be conducted by himself; and an invasion of Greece, to be conducted by Antiochus. The advice was not followed; and Hannibal had the mortification of accompanying the vain monarch into Greece in the year 562, only to see a good opportunity lost by the want of sufficient energy and precaution. Antiochus spent about a year in idleness; and was at length, after a total defeat by the Roman consul,

Acilius Glabrio, at Thermopylæ, obliged to flee into Asia, leaving his only allies in Greece—the Ætolians—to the mercy of the enemy.

260. While occupied in punishing the Ætolians, the Romans prepared to take vengeance upon Antiochus by an invasion of Asia. The Asiatic sovereign had not expected such a retaliation; and it was with mingled feelings of surprise, rage, and alarm, that he learnt that his fleet in the Hellespont had been defeated by the Romans, whom the Rhodians, the Carthaginians, and Eumenes, king of Pergamus, had furnished with the necessary ships; and that an army of about 20,000 men, under the command of Lucius Scipio, had actually landed in Asia. The most formidable circumstance connected with this invasion was, that though Lucius Scipio was the nominal commander, he was accompanied and directed by his brother, the great Scipio Africanus. The landing of the first Roman army in Asia (563–4) was an important event in the history of the Commonwealth; and it kindled an enthusiasm not only among the soldiers of the army itself, but among the people at home. The former, as they roved along the coast of the famous Troad, the site of the imaginary city of Priam, from which Rome derived its pedigree, offered up many prayers to the Trojan father Æneas, to whose guiding hand they referred their present enterprise; and at Rome, the news of the safe landing of the army was received with religious thanksgiving. Still more vociferous was the joy of the citizens when the news reached them that Antiochus, with an army of 100,000 Greeks and Asiatics, had been totally defeated by the consul in a battle fought near Magnesia in Lydia, and that he had agreed to a peace on terms most advantageous to Rome. These were—that he should give up all his possessions in Asia Minor except Cilicia, and all his war-ships and elephants; that he should pay 15,000 talents of indemnity money, besides other smaller sums; and lastly, that he should deliver up certain of his principal advisers in the war, among whom Hannibal was expressly named. A treaty on these terms was arranged between Scipio and Antiochus after the battle of Magnesia in 564: it was not fully

ratified, however, till the year 566, when ten commissioners were sent from Rome to the court of Antiochus. Meanwhile the two Scipios had returned home, Lucius with the new title of *Asiaticus*, as a counterpart to his brother's title of *Africanus;* and the affairs of Asia during the intermediate year 565 had been conducted by the consul Cneius Manlius Vulso, who, having nothing else to do, had employed his arms in reducing the Galatians, a barbarous people, of mixed Greek and Gaulish blood, inhabiting one of the central districts of Asia Minor. As soon as the peace with Antiochus was fairly concluded, the Romans evacuated Asia, sharing the territories they had taken between their allies—the people of Rhodes, and Eumenes, king of Pergamus, with the exception of such Greek cities as had been tributary to Antiochus; and these were to remain free. Thus the Romans retained nothing in Asia except that indefinite moral control which their triumph had gained for them, and which they could at any time convert into a direct political dominion.

261. Hannibal, to avoid the fate with which the peace between the Romans and Antiochus threatened him, had fled to Crete; but he afterwards sought refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia. For about five years, he remained in this asylum—an exile, dependent on strangers, and all the schemes of his life laid in the dust. Whether on account of any fresh provocation, or merely to allay the uneasy feeling which they could not lay aside so long as they knew that Hannibal was alive, the Romans at length, in the year 571, sent an embassy to Prusias, to demand his surrender. To escape a lingering captivity, Hannibal put an end to his life by taking poison. He was then in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His great adversary, Scipio Africanus, is said to have died in the same year, also in exile. It was a right of the Roman people, when a general returned from a victorious campaign, to call upon him to render an account of the manner in which he had distributed the money, spoils, &c. taken from the enemy, not with a view to question or alter the distribution itself, but as a security against peculation on the part of the general. On the return of the two Scipios from Asia, rumours were

circulated that they had embezzled certain sums of money received from Antiochus; and they were called upon to present their accounts to the senate. The two brothers appeared in the senate, and Lucius was about to read his accounts, when Publius, seizing the papers, tore them in contempt before the eyes of the senators, saying that he and his brother had enriched the Roman state by their labours, and that they would give no account of any such paltry sum as that which formed the substance of the charge against them. The sum in question amounted to about £36,000 of modern money. In consequence of so glaring an act of contempt as that of which Scipio had been guilty, he was summoned by the tribunes of the people to answer the more specific charge of having accepted bribes from Antiochus. Scipio appeared in the Forum only to say that the day appointed for the trial—the anniversary of the battle of Zama—was an exceedingly ill-chosen one; then announcing his intention of proceeding to the Capitol to offer sacrifice, he retired, followed by the whole people. Accused, finally, of aiming at the sovereignty, or, as the Romans were accustomed to express it, 'of carrying a spirit above the civil level,' he withdrew into voluntary exile at Liternum, a Roman colony, and there died.

262. Meanwhile, although the chief theatre of Roman activity, since the conclusion of the second Punic War, had been the East, scarcely a year had passed without affording additional occupation for the armies in the West. The interval between the Punic and the Macedonian wars had been diligently employed in reducing the Cisalpine Gauls and the Ligurians; and the ravages then committed by the Romans in Cisalpine Gaul appear to have been horrible. Spain, however, was the principal object of solicitude in the West, and various Roman generals, some of them consuls, had found scope for their talents in perfecting the work which Scipio had begun, of subjugating and organising that country. The most celebrated of these was Marcus Porcius Cato, one of the consuls for the year 559. Cato was a remarkable man, and a genuine specimen of the old Roman character. Born in the Latin town of Tusculum, of a plebeian family, he

had served, in his seventeenth year, in the Roman armies against Hannibal: with this exception, his early manhood was spent in the occupations of a thrifty, money-making farmer. His strong practical sense, his upright and just, although somewhat harsh and eccentric, character, his success in the management of his crops and live stock, and especially of his slaves, and his activity in local affairs, soon brought him into public notice; and before the conclusion of the second Punic War, the figure of the young Tusculan, with his ruddy complexion, blue eyes, and rough exterior, was well known in the Roman Forum. In the year 449, he was appointed quæstor to Scipio, during his consulship in Sicily. In this capacity, his obstinate strictness in all matters of expense gave such offence to Scipio, that he sent him back, saying he did not like so exact a quæstor. Attaching himself, however, to that party in the state which disliked the Scipios, and whose object it was to uphold old Roman fashions against the growing taste for everything Greek, Cato rose rapidly; and his services, both as prætor and consul in Spain, were such as to increase his reputation not only for military and political ability, but also for integrity and humanity. Leaving the Roman dominion more firmly established in Spain than it had ever been before, he returned in time to serve in the Asiatic war; and was one of the most active of the party who, on the conclusion of this war, attacked the conduct of the Scipios. On the death of Scipio Africanus, Cato was perhaps the most prominent man in Rome; and having been appointed to the censorship in 570, he found employment congenial to his taste in the severe exercise of the powers of that office against all who offended against his notions of Roman rectitude. The progress of demoralisation, however, had already advanced too far to be remedied by the censorship even of a Cato. The separation between the poor and the rich had become wider; gluttony and intemperance of the most vulgar description had become common; soldiers and officers, returning from the wars, had brought with them new wealth, new vices, new costumes, and new religious rites and mysteries, both immoral in themselves, and foreign to the native supersti-

tion of the Romans. In short, after the second Punic War, Rome was a completely changed city, containing, instead of the old population of agriculturists and their clients, a medley of two classes—the poor, swarming and miserable; and the rich, revelling in wealth which they wanted taste to use, except in the grossest debauchery.

263. Philip of Macedonia died in the year 575, after having been engaged for several years in secretly preparing to revolt from the Romans. He was succeeded by his son Perseus, whose most remarkable quality was his avarice; and the Romans, who had now begun to throw off all respect for justice in their dealings with foreign states, and to act in the pure spirit of conquest, soon found a pretext for making war against him. The war was begun in the year 582, and continued for four years. Had Perseus possessed sufficient abilities to avail himself of the hostile feeling to the Romans, which their unscrupulous foreign policy since the termination of the Asiatic war had rendered so general among the states both of Asia Minor and Greece, or had he pursued his father's scheme of stirring up the semi-barbarous Thracians to invade Italy, he might have proved a formidable enemy. His avarice, however, deprived him of that aid which he might have procured from the Rhodians, from Eumenes of Pergamus, and from the Gauls; and Genthius, king of Illyria, was his only ally. At length, in the year 586, Perseus, having been completely defeated near Pydna by the consul Lucius Æmilius Paulus, one of the ablest commanders of the age, fled to the island of Samothrace, where he took refuge in a sanctuary; finally, however, he surrendered, and was carried as a prisoner to Rome. Macedonia was then divided by the Romans into four republics, each of which, besides defraying its own expenses, was to pay an annual tribute, equal to half of that which it had paid to Perseus. Each, subject to various restrictions, such as the prohibition of intermarriage, or exchange of property with any of the others, was to enjoy a free government. While thus asserting their right of conquest over Macedonia, the Romans did not omit the opportunity of rivetting their supremacy over the rest of the East. Illyria was cruelly

ravaged; the Rhodians atoned for the disposition they had shown to assist Perseus by the loss of much of their territory, and would have suffered a still severer punishment, but for the generous interference of Cato; and in each of the various states of Greece, the influence of the Romans was secured by the execution or abduction of the chiefs of the anti-Roman party. The Achaian League alone sent into Italy as many as a thousand hostages, among whom was Polybius, afterwards celebrated as a historian. About twenty years after this period, one of the sons of Perseus used to be pointed out earning his subsistence as a clerk in one of the public offices in Rome.

264. For nearly twenty years after the war with Perseus, Roman history contains scarcely anything besides notices of occasional quarrels with the Ligurians and the Alpine Gauls, and of the steady progress of the Roman influence in Spain and in Greece. The commencement, however, of the seventh century of Rome is signalised by occurrences which complete, and, as it were, wind up, the long career of conquest in different parts of the world, of which we have presented an outline in the present chapter. These were the third Punic War, and the destruction of Carthage; the formal conquest of Greece; and the thorough subjection of Spain.

265. During the fifty years which followed the battle of Zama, the Carthaginians had regularly paid to Rome the annual instalment of indemnity-money promised in the treaty with Scipio; nor had they once afforded the Romans a ground of complaint. In the meantime, their dependent condition, however injurious to their welfare as a nation, to their character, and public spirit, had at least been favourable to their material prosperity. Safe under the protection of the Romans, their ships had sailed through all parts of the Mediterranean on their commercial voyages, relieved of the necessity of fighting their own way. The consequence was, that while other parts of the African coast—Egypt, for instance—had been ravaged by war, Carthage had increased wonderfully in population and wealth. There was, however, one cause of fretfulness

from which she suffered. This was the encroaching spirit of her neighbour Masinissa, now a very old man, but still perpetually in the field at the head of his Numidian horse, seeking occasions for the employment of his restless spirit. District after district had he snatched from the defenceless Carthaginians; and what alarmed them most was, that the complaints they made of these enroachments to the Romans either received no attention, or were lightly set aside. It became evident, in short, that the Romans, if they did not secretly encourage Masinissa, were at least disposed, from motives of policy, to favour his encroachments. At length, while engaged in their war with Perseus, the Romans yielded to the appeal of the Carthaginians so far, as to send over commissioners into Africa to inquire into the causes of their quarrel with Masinissa. Acting in the spirit in which they were sent, these commissioners refrained from giving any public decision, but privately encouraged Masinissa. The report, too, which they carried back to Rome of the growing wealth and resources of Carthage, fostered the resolution which some of the Roman politicians had already formed to destroy Carthage. Cato, one of the commissioners, was the chief of this party. And perhaps the anecdote respecting him, which, although by no means the most honourable in his life, has rendered his name most familiar to posterity, is, that in his old age he ended all his speeches, on whatever subject, with the invariable phrase, 'Moreover, fathers, my opinion is, that Carthage ought to be destroyed.'

266. Cato lived to see the desire of his heart fulfilled. The Carthaginians, deserted by the Romans, had at length taken courage to act for themselves—had banished such of their number as were known to be favourable to Masinissa, and had made war on Masinissa himself. Although they were defeated in this war, they were called to account for it by the Romans; and vague threats were held forth to them of a certain reparation which they must make, while at the same time care was taken not to inform them of its nature. In the year 605, however, the intelligence of the assembling in Sicily of a Roman army of upwards of 80,000 men, under the two consuls of the year, made the Carthagi-

nians aware that some terrible fate was intended for them. In haste to pacify the Romans, they made every possible submission; passed sentence of death on their general, Hasdrubal, and a number of others, who had been the principal advisers of the war with Masinissa; complied with the orders of the Roman senate to send 300 children of their noblest families as hostages to Sicily; and when, notwithstanding these tokens of repentance, the Roman armies still landed at Utica, willingly offered, through their ambassadors, to give any farther satisfaction which might be required. 'Surrender all your arms and artillery,' was the demand made by the Roman consuls. When even this demand had been complied with, and the unfortunate Carthaginians were left without the means of defence, the consuls announced to the ambassadors the atrocious resolution which, by the orders of the senate, they had studiously concealed until that moment. 'It is the will of the Roman people,' said the consuls, 'that you remove from your present city, which the Romans mean to level, and build another in any spot you may prefer, situated at a distance of at least ten miles from the sea.'

267. On the announcement of the diabolical purpose of the Romans, the wretched city rose with one yell of despair. The ambassadors who had brought the news were dragged through the streets; every Roman or Italian within reach was murdered; the slaves were set at liberty; Hasdrubal, and others, who had gone into exile to escape the sentence of death passed against them, were recalled; every workman in the city was employed in manufacturing arms out of whatever materials were at hand; the very women, it is said, were eager for the defence, and gave their long hair to be twined into artillery ropes. The consuls, who had not expected such an outburst of fury, laid siege to the city. Neither they, however, nor their successors in the following year, were able to make much progress against a resistance so determined; and in the year 607, the conduct of the siege fell into the hands of Publius Cornelius Scipio, a son of Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, but who bore the name Scipio in consequence of having been adopted by the son of Scipio

Africanus. His birth, his adopted name, and the great reputation which he had already acquired both in Africa and elsewhere, induced the Romans to elect him to the consulship, notwithstanding that he was under the usual age. He was accompanied into Africa by his tutor, the historian Polybius, who afterwards wrote an account of his actions.

268. The siege of a town calculated to have contained 700,000 inhabitants does not admit of easy description. Suffice it to say, that after immense exertions, the principal of which consisted in the blocking up of the entrance to the harbour, so as to prevent the arrival of supplies by sea, while at the same time the camp was stretched across the narrow neck of the peninsula on which Carthage stood, so as to shut off all communication with the land, the Romans succeeded in forcing their way into the city. The Carthaginians had resisted bravely, contesting the neck of the peninsula with the Romans, and digging a new outlet to the sea, so as to be independent of their old harbour. Even after the enemy was within the city, they continued the defence. The battle was now from street to street, and from house to house. From the roofs of the houses, six or eight storeys high, the miserable citizens showered down stones and darts upon the Romans pressing through the streets. Fire, famine, and massacre, however, did their work; and at length about 50,000 wretched beings, the survivors of the vast Carthaginian population, surrendered to the fate which ancient custom assigned to prisoners of war—slavery. About 900 persons, the majority of whom were Roman deserters, to whom no mercy would be awarded, shut themselves up to perish in a building called the Temple of Æsculapius, situated on the highest point of the city. Amongst these was the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal, who, during the siege, had acted first as defender of the city without its walls, and afterwards as tyrant within. To save his life, however, he came and threw himself at the feet of Scipio. The deserters set fire to the temple, and were consumed in it, along with the wife of Hasdrubal, who is said to have appeared on one of the pinnacles pronouncing curses on her husband for his

cowardice, and then to have thrown herself, with her children, into the flames. Thus, after an existence of seven hundred years, perished the great city of Carthage in the year of Rome 608. Surveying its blackened ruins, Scipio is said to have repeated the verses of Homer—

'A day shall come when sacred Troy will fall,
And strong-speared Priam with his people all.'

'Of what city are you thinking?' said Polybius, who stood by. 'I am thinking of Rome,' said Scipio. What remained of Carthage was levelled with the ground; and severe threats were uttered against any one who should attempt to rebuild it.

269. The same year which witnessed the reduction of Africa to the condition of a Roman province, brought about a similar fate for Macedonia. During nearly twenty years, the four republics into which Macedonia had been divided had enjoyed the modified liberty which had been assigned them; but in the year 605, the mad credulity of the people, in flocking round a Thracian gladiator named Andriscus, who pretended to be a son of Perseus, come to deliver his countrymen from the Roman thraldom, occasioned a fresh war. In 608 the revolt was quelled, and the country subjugated, by Quintus Cæcilius Metellus. After the reduction of Macedonia, there was little hope that Greece Proper and the Peloponnesus, the general government of which, so far as any such existed, was in the hands of the Achaian League, would be permitted by the Romans to remain independent. Accordingly, in the year 608, the signal for war was given by a demand made by the Romans that the cities of Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, and Orchomenos, which had not been members of the league at the period of the treaty with Rome about fifty years before, should, for that reason, be detached from it. Metellus, who had just finished the subjugation of Macedonia, and after him the consul Lucius Mummius, conducted this war; in which, after a brief struggle, the freedom of Greece was finally extinguished in the year 609. Corinth, Thebes, and other towns were destroyed; and Greece, broken up, according to the usual policy, into a number of disconnected districts, became a

Roman province, under the name of Achaia. After having completed the conquest, Mummius returned to Rome, to triumph under the name of *Achaicus;* and thus, in the year 609, there might have been seen in the Roman Forum the three brother-conquerors of Greece, Macedonia, and Africa—Mummius Achaicus, Metellus Macedonicus, and Scipio Africanus the younger.

270. Notwithstanding the exertions of Cato, and, at a later period, of another eminent general, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Spain had continued to afford occupation to the Roman arms; the ancient Iberians apparently manifesting at that time the same unconquerable and intractable spirit which has been so remarkably exhibited by their successors, the modern Spaniards. Even when the tribes already subjugated remained quiet—as they invariably did when the Roman governor was a man capable, like Cato or Gracchus, of winning their confidence—there were still wars to be carried on against the inhabitants of those parts of the peninsula which had not begun to be Romanised. Among the most formidable enemies both to the Romans and the Romanised Spaniards were the Lusitanians, who inhabited the mountains of the west. A cruel war was carried on against them by the Romans; and at length the majority were massacred, in the year 604, by order of Servius Sulpicius Galba, after he had enticed them to submit by a piece of atrocious treachery. For this action, honest Cato, then in his eighty-fifth year, but still active as ever, brought Galba to trial, and it was with difficulty he escaped being sentenced to death. One of the Lusitanians who escaped from the bloody hands of Galba was Viriathus, a truly great man. For eight years, he carried on a patriotic war against the Romans. His boldness, his military skill, and his wonderful native talents for governing, enabled him completely to baffle the enemy, who at length were forced, in the year 614, to conclude peace with him as an equal and an ally. In the following year, however, he was murdered in his sleep by some Lusitanian traitors, bribed by the Roman general, Cneius Servilius Cæpio; and the war in Spain was then concentrated in the neighbourhood of Numantia, a native Spanish town,

situated on the Douro, in that part of the Peninsula which at present constitutes Old Castile. Never did patriots offer a braver resistance to invaders than did the 8000 Spaniards—who were all the fighting-men in Numantia—to the Roman armies. For five years, they kept them incessantly employed, till the permanence of the Roman dominion in Spain seemed to be in jeopardy, and no less a person than Scipio was sent out to reduce the Numantines. The conqueror of Carthage succeeded in doing what his predecessors had attempted in vain. Blockading Numantia with an army of 60,000 men, he starved the wretched inhabitants into a surrender in the year 621, and then levelled the town.

271. The siege of Numantia terminating, as it did, in the thorough reduction of Spain, may be considered as the concluding scene in that long career of conquest detailed in the present chapter, which had by rapid degrees extended the power of the Roman name along the whole of the Mediterranean, from the Atlantic to the Euxine and the Levant. Strangely enough, this long period of conquest, which may be regarded as, in some respects, the most brilliant in the history of Rome, is only the infant age of Roman literature; and although upwards of a century and a-half had intervened since the first Roman author, properly so called, had appeared, in the person of Appius Claudius the censor, his successors had as yet been few. Greek literature had not been unknown to the Romans, even in early times, and a native drama, of a rude extempore character, had sprung up to meet the growing taste for such entertainments; but it was not till after the Romans had conquered tutors for themselves, in the Greeks, first within, and afterwards without the peninsula, that they became tinged with the literary spirit. The earliest of their authors, accordingly, were either Greeks, or imitators of the Greeks. After Appius Claudius in the list, occurs Livius Andronicus, a Roman client, but believed to have been a Tarentine by birth. He was contemporaneous with the first Punic War, and wrote, besides some dramatic pieces after the Greek model, an abridged translation of Homer's Odyssey

in Latin verse. After him came Cneius Nævius, a Campanian, who wrote a historical poem in Latin verse on the first Punic War, in which he had served. He also produced many plays and miscellaneous poems; and some satirical verses of his so offended the Metelli, that, after undergoing much persecution from that proud and powerful house, he was obliged to go into exile. He died probably about the middle of the sixth century. Contemporary with Nævius, in his later years, were three Romans of rank—Quintus Fabius Pictor, Lucius Cincius Alimentus, and Caius Acilius, who wrote annals or historical summaries of Roman history in the Greek language. Their works, especially those of Pictor, were valuable, and were used as authorities by later writers. Quintus Ennius, a Calabrian, who was born in 517, and died in 587, is usually recognised as the father of Roman poetry. Besides many dramas from the Greek, and many miscellaneous poems, he wrote a history of Rome in hexameter verse, being the first to introduce this Greek metre into the Latin language. Somewhat younger than Ennius was the celebrated comic poet Plautus, a man of real genius, who, though the form of his plays, and the names of the characters, were Greek, yet took his ideas from Roman life. Plautus was an Umbrian by birth, and of much lower rank than Ennius. Towards the end of the sixth, and the beginning of the seventh century, almost all Romans of consequence learnt Greek, as the medium through which knowledge was to be acquired. Among the rest, Cato applied himself to this language in his old age, and made himself well acquainted with Greek literature. To the last, however, he remained a Roman in his style of thinking; and a treatise on agriculture, which, of his various writings, has alone come down to us, is thoroughly Roman in its spirit and language. Contemporary with Cato, in his old age, were several other authors, among whom the most celebrated were Pacuvius, a tragic poet, a native of Brundusium, and a nephew of Ennius; and Publius Terentius, a Carthaginian, who followed Plautus as a comedian, though in a much more modern style. Of the writings of nearly all the authors here mentioned, we possess only small fragments. A few

plays of Plautus and Terence are the only perfect specimens that remain of early Roman literature.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMS OF THE GRACCHI—THE JUGURTHINE AND CIMBRIC WARS —B. C. 134–101.—Y. R. 620–653.

272. In the year of Rome 620, her dominion extended along the whole of the Mediterranean, from the Atlantic to the Levant, more firmly settled in some portions than in others, but virtually including all, with the exception, perhaps, of the countries lying between Cilicia in Asia Minor, and Cyrene in Africa. Of these six hundred and twenty years, nearly five hundred, according to the common chronology, had been occupied in spreading the power of Rome over the Italian peninsula alone; but after she had thus possessed herself of the strength of Italy, her prowess was such, that within little more than a century additional, she had shattered all the surrounding nations, and compelled them to regard her as the centre and metropolis of the civilisation of the Mediterranean. Her political influence, radiating forth upon her provinces, was to be the means of amalgamating into one immense society millions of human beings — Greeks, Asiatics, Germans, Gauls, Iberians, Africans—upon whom no common spirit had as yet operated to bring them into cohesion. Such was the office of Rome in the history of the world.

273. It was impossible for her, however, to perform this office without at the same time undergoing a total change in her own constitution. Accordingly, during the century which had elapsed since she first began to exert her prowess over the nations beyond Italy, Rome had become quite a changed city; not only larger and more populous, not only inspired with a new sense of her own importance, as the metropolis of a wider extent of territory, but actually different in essential character. The old Roman people no longer existed. The continual efflux of citizens into the

provinces—either as soldiers, for the purposes of conquest, or as officials, for the duties of provincial government—had drained away the true Roman population—the descendants of the ancient Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans; and their place was supplied by multitudes of nondescripts from all parts of Italy and the provinces, attracted to Rome by those hopes which lead adventurers in every country towards the metropolis. Italy itself, and especially the central portion, wore quite an altered aspect. Her fields were no longer cultivated by a free yeomanry, each farmer and his sons managing their little property: these were dispersed abroad through the world, and were living as soldier-emigrants in Spain, Asia, Africa, or Greece. The small farms which they had left behind them had, in many cases, passed into other hands—incorporated, sometimes by foul means, with the large estates of those whose wealth and rank rendered them the most stationary part of the Italian population; and the necessary agricultural labour on these domains was performed by chained gangs of foreign slaves, the supply of a slave-market overstocked by incessant wars.

274. Nor was this a change merely in the constitution of the governed population, the governing power remaining in the same hands. The central mass itself—the population, that is, of the thirty-five tribes in whose hands lay the whole power of the Forum—this also was composed of new ingredients. Of the citizens, considerably above 300,000 in number, whose names now stood on the censors' lists, and who were therefore qualified to vote on questions affecting the interests of the whole Roman world, only a small proportion were descendants of the old native families. Of the original 300 patrician *gentes*, probably not fifteen survived; and these, forgetting the long dispute which their fathers had carried on against the plebeians, were now closely united with such of the old plebeian families as likewise survived—the two constituting together a kind of aristocracy, whose object it was to retain the honours of the state to themselves, and prevent the *novi homines*—that is, those who could not boast of an old Roman pedigree—from obtaining them. The habit of

sharing the chief offices between the two orders had now almost disappeared, and consuls, prætors, &c. began to be chosen indiscriminately from either. Thus, in the year 582, we find, for the first time, two plebeian consuls. The senate was composed chiefly of members of old patrician and old plebeian families; but even into the senate wealthy citizens, who could not claim descent from old families, had forced their way. Beneath the senators in the social scale were the plebeian equites or gentry. For the most part very wealthy, and living in a luxurious manner, it was the object of this class to acquire political influence either by opposing the senate, or by rising individually to the senatorial rank. Deducting the senators and the equites, there remained a vast population of poorer citizens, who voted in the tribes. Among these, and especially among those of them who belonged to the rural tribes, there may have been a considerable number of respectable and industrious men; but by far the greater proportion constituted a populace of the most wretched description, living, for the most part, within the city, or in its meaner suburbs. Some were Roman or Italian soldiers, who had returned from the wars with habits which rendered them unfit for any regular employment; some were foreign adventurers, or the descendants of such, who had become naturalised; and many were undoubtedly freedmen, or the sons of freedmen, whose names the influence of the powerful families with which they had been connected had been able to place on the censors' lists. All these classes together constituted a city-populace far inferior, in point of respectability, to that of almost any modern metropolis. This arose, in a great measure, from the want of a sufficient means of honest employment for so many free citizens of low rank. The cheapness of slave-labour in the fields deprived them, on the one hand, of the means of earning a subsistence as hired agricultural servants; and on the other hand, as every Roman family of consequence was in the habit, not only of providing its own stock of goods, but also of retaining in its household slave-artisans of every description, this prevented the rise of any large middle-class of shopkeepers and tradesmen. Thus thousands of those

who, by their votes as Roman citizens, exercised an influence over the remotest nations, were actually in the condition of paupers, huddled together in dense masses in the meaner quarters of the town, from which they poured out on any occasion of public excitement—such as the triumph of a general—to enjoy the spectacle, and also to share the bounties in corn and money which it was customary to distribute on these occasions. For what was necessary, in addition to these occasional bounties, they depended on the sale of their votes. As each of these individuals, however despicable in personal respects he might be, exercised a voice in public affairs, it was customary for the powerful citizens to secure public offices to themselves, and to obtain adherents to their political views, not only by acting the part of habitual patrons to such as chose to become their clients, but also by wholesale bribery in the Forum. The proudest of the aristocracy were forced to court the good-will of those on whose votes their accession to office, or their continuance in it, depended; and many anecdotes are told illustrating the curious juxtaposition into which the wealthiest citizens were thus brought with the poorest. 'Is it your custom,' said the haughty Scipio Nasica one day to a fellow-citizen, whose somewhat dirty hand he had taken in his, when soliciting his vote—'is it your custom to walk on your hands?'

275. That the power of Rome should be increasing, and her territories extending themselves through Europe, Asia, and Africa, and yet that the Roman population itself, who were the depositaries of that power, and the proprietors of that territory, should be degenerating into a mob of paupers living by the sale of their votes, must have struck not a few of the best Roman patriots as a glaring inconsistency; and with such the possibility of devising a remedy must have been a subject of serious consideration. One citizen, Caius Lælius, who was consul in the year 614, is mentioned as having cherished the intention of attempting a reform of the state; he abandoned the project, however, as being impracticable, and thus earned for himself, it is said, the appellation of *Sapiens*, or 'The Sensible Man.' The individual for whom it was reserved to make

the bold attempt from which Lælius shrank, was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the son of that Gracchus who has been already mentioned as having earned for himself distinction in Spain. His mother was Cornelia, the daughter of the great Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The elder Gracchus dying in the prime of life, the education of his family—consisting of two sons, Tiberius and Caius, and two daughters—was left to their mother Cornelia. The daughter of the great Scipio was one of the noblest of Roman women; and her ambition was, above all, that her sons should be great men in the Commonwealth; so that, unable, as a woman, to take part in public affairs, she might at least see her spirit working through them. The two daughters having married, the one Scipio Nasica, the chief of the aristocratic party, the other Scipio Africanus the younger, it was her habit, when the great services of Scipio Africanus were spoken of, to say to her sons, 'Men speak of me now as the mother-in-law of Scipio, when shall they speak of me as the mother of the Gracchi?' Educated with the utmost care by such a mother, and possessed, besides, of a certain amiable mildness of disposition, which was observed to be the peculiar characteristic of the Gracchi, very great expectations were cherished of the two brothers. Tiberius being nine years older than Caius, stepped first into public life. His first services were in Africa under his brother-in-law; but afterwards he served in Spain, where his father had become so popular.

276. About three years after his return from Spain, or in the year of Rome 621, Tiberius was elected one of the tribunes of the people, an office which the most distinguished members of the equestrian order of plebeians, to which the Gracchi belonged, were at this time anxious to obtain, and which was regarded by them as a stepping-stone to the consulship. Possessed of sufficient experience, for he was now in his thirtieth year, urged by his mother, who exerted a great influence over him, and in constant association with able and thoughtful men, among whom are mentioned two Greeks, Diophanes an orator, and Blossius a philosopher, it was foreseen, when he was elected, that his career as a tribune would be an active

one. But what determined the special direction of the new tribune's activity, was his own kindness of heart, and his knowledge of the state of Italy. When passing through Etruria on his way to Spain some years before, he had been struck with the spectacle of great gangs of slaves everywhere working in the fields, many of them in fetters; and the impression then made on him had never been effaced. A fearful revolt of slaves in Sicily, which had already continued for some time, and which was not finally suppressed till the year 622, must have contributed to awaken him to the dangers which a universal system of slave-labour was subjecting the state; nor would the frequent robberies committed on all the roads of Italy by bands of slaves, kept on the verge of starvation by the cruelty of their masters, escape his notice. It was not, however, with the condition of the slaves, but with the condition of the pauper citizens, whom these slaves excluded from an honest means of livelihood, that Gracchus interested himself.

277. To a person who had formed the resolution of attempting to ameliorate the condition of the Roman people in that age, there was but one method of carrying it into effect — the proposal, namely, of a new agrarian law. According to Roman ideas, that state of society was the natural and healthy one in which every free citizen possessed a portion of land as his own property; all deviations from this state of things were signs of disorganisation; and if in any community a number of the citizens were without land, then to provide land for these citizens in any just manner, was regarded as equivalent to a restoration of the political health of the community. Agrarian laws, therefore, distributing portions of the public land acquired by conquest among the indigent citizens, had been frequently passed in the earlier ages of the Commonwealth; and, as may be remembered, an agrarian law of a permanent description had been carried in the year 383 by the tribune Licinius Stolo, rendering it illegal for any citizen to occupy more than 500 jugera of the public land in addition to his own property. The Licinian law, however, had been suffered to fall into abeyance; and although vast tracts

had been acquired by the Italian, the Punic, and the Greek wars, no regular distribution of land among the destitute citizens had taken place for upwards of a century. Numerous military colonies had indeed been founded in the conquered districts, and in this way many of the poorer Romans or their allies had been provided for; but still there remained large territories, the property of the state, which, instead of being divided among the poorer members of the state, were entered upon, and brought into cultivation, by the rich capitalists, many of whom thus came to hold thousands of jugera, instead of the five hundred allowed by the Licinian law. To a Roman statesman, therefore, looking on the one hand to the wretched pauper population of the meaner streets of Rome, and on the other to the enormous tracts of the public land throughout Italy which the wealthy citizens held in addition to their own private property, the question which would naturally present itself was—Why should not the state, as landlord, resume from these wealthy capitalists, who are her tenants, as much of the public land as may be necessary to provide little farms for these pauper citizens, and so convert them into respectable and independent agriculturists? This question must have presented itself to many; but there were immense difficulties in the way. Not only had long possession of the state lands, and the expenditure of large sums in bringing them into cultivation, given the wealthy tenants a sort of proprietary claim upon them, but in the course of generations, during which estates had been bought, sold, and inherited, the state lands had become so confused with private property, that in many cases it was impossible to distinguish between the two. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Tiberius Gracchus had the boldness to propose an agrarian law, to the effect, that every father of a family might occupy 500 jugera of the state land for himself, and 250 jugera additional for each of his sons; but that, in every case where this amount was exceeded, the state should resume the surplus, paying the tenant a price for the buildings, &c. which he had been at the expense of erecting on the lands thus lost to him. The recovered lands were then to be distributed among the

poor citizens; a clause being inserted in the bill to prevent these citizens from selling the lands thus allotted to them, as many of them would have been apt to do.

278. Such was the famous agrarian law of Tiberius Gracchus—a law which, to our modern manner of thinking, might seem a violation of all justice, but which was so little discordant with the spirit of the Roman constitution, that it was privately approved by some of his most eminent contemporaries, including his father-in-law Appius Claudius, the pontifex maximus Publius Crassus, and the celebrated Roman jurist Mucius Scævola. The opposition which it met with, however, was such, as to deter any man of note from co-operating with Gracchus in public; and he was left to carry his measure by his own energy, encouraged by the enthusiastic plaudits of the populace who listened to his eloquence. To oppose him in the most effectual manner, the aristocratic party and the capitalists, whose interests were menaced by the law, gained over his colleague and intimate friend, the tribune Marcus Octavius, a man of mild and amiable disposition. Octavius exercised the right which he possessed as one of the tribunes, and arrested by his *veto* the progress of his colleague's bill. Thinking this conduct might arise from motives of personal interest, Gracchus offered to make good to Octavius out of his own fortune any loss which the law might inflict upon him. The offer was refused; and Gracchus, retaliating upon his opponents, exercised his veto as a tribune, so as to arrest almost all the functions of government. 'Either you or I,' he then said to his friend Octavius, 'must cease to be tribune. Propose to the people that I be deprived of my office.' Octavius refused to take a step so unusual and so useless. 'Then,' said Gracchus, 'I will propose the same thing with regard to you.' He did so accordingly; and after seventeen tribes had voted for the deposition of Octavius, he turned towards him and said in an imploring tone, 'The next vote will decide the question; do relent while it is time.' Octavius hesitated, but preserved silence: the eighteenth tribe voted; and Octavius, now no longer a tribune, was dragged from his seat, and maltreated by the mob. The agrarian law was

then carried without opposition; and Tiberius Gracchus, his brother Caius, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, were appointed triumvirs to superintend its execution.

279. The conduct of Tiberius, and especially his treatment of Octavius, which was regarded even by many of his own supporters as an unconstitutional step, had raised such a bitter feeling of enmity towards him among the powerful citizens, that he saw that, unless he were re-elected to the inviolable office of tribune, his life would be in danger. Announcing, therefore, various other measures of a popular nature which he designed to carry, Tiberius, as the period of election approached, signified his intention of presenting himself again as a candidate. His enemies opposed his re-election, as being contrary to custom; and on the day of election, the presiding tribune hesitated to register the votes for Gracchus. The whole day was spent in altercation upon this point; and when the assembly broke up at sunset, without having come to a decision, it became evident that the election would not terminate without some fearful riot. All that evening Tiberius went about among the people with his little son, imploring them to protect him. A party kept watch round his house all night; and in the morning a great crowd accompanied him to the place of assembly—an area in front of the Capitol, on which a scaffolding and benches had been erected. In the place of meeting a tumult arose; and some of the less popular tribunes, repeating the objections of the previous day, were maltreated by the supporters of Gracchus. The senate, meanwhile, had assembled in the neighbourhood; and soon the news reached Gracchus and those who were with him that the senators had declared the tumult seditious, and were approaching with armed slaves—Scipio Nasica, the brother-in-law of Gracchus, at their head, the consul Mucius Scævola having refused to take part in an act of bloodshed. Instantly all was uproar: the benches were torn up, the batons of the officers seized, to serve as bludgeons, and the populace prepared to stand on their defence. The senators rushing in, however, with their adherents, were victorious: the people fled; about 300 of them were slain, and among them Gracchus, who was

killed by repeated blows on the head with a piece of a broken bench. The bodies of the dead were flung into the Tiber. The victory thus violently gained by the aristocratic party was followed up by legal prosecutions of the partisans of Gracchus, many of whom were put to death. Among others, the Greek philosopher Blossius was brought before the tribunal of the consuls. He was asked whether he had acted under the commands of Gracchus. He acknowledged having done so, but added, that Gracchus had never commanded him to do anything bad. 'What if he had ordered you to set fire to the Capitol?' 'He would never have given such an order,' was the reply. 'But if he had?' 'I would have done it,' said Blossius; who was forthwith set at liberty.

280. The death of Tiberius Gracchus was a mere act of personal vengeance, and it did not interrupt the operation of his agrarian law. His place in the triumvirate was supplied by one of his adherents among the senators, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus; and that of Appius Claudius, who died soon afterwards, by another adherent of the party, Caius Papirius Carbo, a man of great talent, but of bad character. The third member of the triumvirate, Caius Gracchus, being only in his twenty-second year, the business of carrying the law into rigorous execution devolved on Flaccus and Carbo. Assisted by the popular resentment for the death of Gracchus, which had been so decided, that Scipio Nasica, the principal instrument in the affair, had been obliged to withdraw to Asia, Flaccus and Carbo persevered in their embarrassing task of prosecuting those who possessed a greater portion of the public land than the law now allowed. In doing so, however, they called into action a new adverse interest—that, namely, of the Italian allies, many of whom held lands belonging to the Commonwealth on a similar tenure to that which the law of Gracchus assailed in the case of Roman citizens. The Italian allies, therefore, made common cause with the Roman aristocracy against the agrarian commissioners and their party; and the man whom they agreed to regard as their leader was Scipio Africanus, who, like Scipio Nasica, was a brother-in-law of the Gracchi, and who, although

by no means so vehement a partisan as Nasica, was yet opposed to the agrarian law, and was reported to have used an expression approving of the murder of Gracchus, when the news of that event reached him in Spain. Scipio, in the year 625, proposed a measure which seemed reasonable—namely, that the right of deciding in any case whether the party were an offender against the agrarian law, should lie, not with the commissioners, but with an impartial judge expressly appointed. One of the consuls of the year having been appointed judge, hastened to Illyricum to avoid the cares of so disagreeable an office; and not long afterwards, Scipio was found dead in bed, on the morning of a day on which he was to propose some new measure hostile to the party of the Gracchi. His death was probably natural; but at a time of such excitement, it was inevitable that the rumour should arise that he had been poisoned by Carbo and his party; and even Sempronia, the wife of Scipio, and the sister of the Gracchi, did not escape suspicion, as it was known that her husband had never loved her.

281. The death of Scipio removed the most formidable opponent of the popular party; and not long afterwards, the Italian allies were detached from the opposition by a proposal, on the part of Flaccus and Carbo, to move for their admission to the Roman franchise. The admission of the Latins to the franchise, and the subsequent elevation of the Italians to the place vacated by the Latins, are said to have been among the reforming measures contemplated by Tiberius Gracchus; and it is easily to be understood that the project of recruiting the thirty-five tribes by admitting into them a portion of the free inhabitants of Italy, who were, upon the whole, a much more respectable class than the Roman populace, must have formed part of the general scheme of the new party. Such a project was even more obnoxious to the aristocratic party than the agrarian law; and when Flaccus, having been elected one of the consuls for the year 629, announced his intention of carrying the project into effect in its fullest extent, by proposing a measure for incorporating all the Italians with the Roman body of voters, the senate, to get rid of him,

sent him on a military expedition into Gaul. The hopes both of the Latins and the Italians, however, had been excited to such a degree, that it was evident the extension of the suffrage could not be long delayed; and one Latin city, Fregellæ, actually asserted its rights by a revolt, which was not crushed without extreme severity.

282. Nine years had elapsed since the death of Tiberius Gracchus, and his brother Caius had not yet come forward as his successor. For seven years, although nominally one of the agrarian triumvirs, he had allowed the whole of the business to devolve on his colleagues; and in 628, when his more mature age, or perhaps some symptoms of dawning activity, began to alarm the senate, he was removed out of the way by being sent as quæstor, with one of the consuls, into Sardinia. Here he discharged his duties in a manner which gained him universal esteem. His birth, however, his name, the popular expectation regarding him—nay, it is said, his very dreams—called on him to delay no longer entering on that path which was to lead him, as it had led his brother, to a bloody death. His resolve was at length taken. Quitting Sardinia at the time when the senate were devising means of detaining him there, although he had already served longer than the legal period, he appeared unexpectedly in Rome, and was elected one of the tribunes for the year 630–1. Caius entered on his office amidst the acclamations of all Rome. About the same age as his brother had been at the same point of his career, distinguished for the same amiableness of character, and educated under the same mother, Caius yet differed in some respects from Tiberius. As an orator, he was more rough, passionate, and impetuous, moving about on the rostra as he spoke, and pulling his toga in the vehemence of his excitement; his views, also, were larger and more statesmanlike than those of his brother, probably because he entered on his career later, and lived to pursue it longer. In his first tribuneship, besides some measures of retaliation on those who had been concerned in his brother's murder, he proposed a bill renewing in a more stringent manner his brother's agrarian law; a second bill forbidding the enlistment of soldiers under seventeen

years of age, and abolishing the practice of deducting the price of the soldiers' clothing from their pay; a third authorising the construction of several new roads through Italy; and a fourth directing sales of corn to be made out of the public granaries every month at a low fixed rate, so that the poorest might be able to purchase. This last is, in principle, the most objectionable of all his measures, as its tendency would have been to draw swarms of mendicants from all quarters to Rome, and then support them at the expense of the corn-growing provinces. In the intention of its proposer, however, it was meant to serve the purpose of a poor-law, for the relief of the distress of those classes who either had not yet been provided for by the agrarian law, or who, not being Roman citizens, were excluded from participating in its benefits. The measure was strenuously opposed, however; and though passed with the rest, it ultimately fell into desuetude.

283. Elected a second time to the tribuneship, contrary to the wishes of his mother, the eye of Gracchus ranged over the Roman world, eager to detect new abuses to be rectified. One of his first attempts was a reform in the judicial system. Hitherto, persons guilty of crimes had been tried either before the court of the whole people, at the instance of the officers called quæstors, who were arranged in different denominations, according to the nature of the crimes, with the prosecution of which they were intrusted; or before special functionaries called judges, who were nominated by the magistrates as their assessors, and whose part it was to decide, like a modern jury, whether the accused party was guilty, the magistrate afterwards pronouncing the sentence. In the progress of the Commonwealth, as the number of special laws increased, the latter mode of trial had become more frequent than the former. The practice, however, had hitherto been to select the judges from the senatorial order exclusively. This practice had of late led to gross injustice, especially in cases where powerful citizens were accused of tyranny or misgovernment in the provinces with the administration of which they had been intrusted. In such cases, the judges either acquitted the accused as being one of them-

selves, or made a traffic of justice by accepting bribes from the provincials. To remedy this abuse, Gracchus proposed and carried a law, the details of which are now unknown, but the general effect of which was to transfer the judicial power from the senatorial to the equestrian order. Besides this measure, he carried many others, introducing reforms in the various branches of the administration. He passed a wise law also for the regulation of the government of the kingdom of Pergamus, which Attalus, the successor of Eumenes, had bequeathed ten years before to the Roman people, and which was now, therefore, in the condition of a distracted province. He intended, besides, to propose a measure for admitting the Latins to the Roman franchise.

284. This last-mentioned measure roused the energies of the senate; and in order most effectually to oppose Gracchus, they employed as their instrument one of his colleagues, Marcus Livius Drusus, who, while resisting the extension of the franchise to the Latins and the Italians, eclipsed the popularity of Gracchus with the Roman populace by proposing measures similar in kind to his, and even less restricted. Backed by the senate, Drusus proposed the establishment of twelve colonies on a far more liberal footing than those of his rival. He also proposed to abolish all tithes on the lands distributed according to the agrarian law. In short, Drusus became the idol of the people; and Gracchus, who chanced to be absent at the time superintending the foundation of one of his proposed colonies on the site of Carthage, found himself deserted on his return by all except the Italians, whose interests he advocated, and a body of faithful adherents among the Roman citizens. Accordingly, at the elections of the year 632–3, he was excluded from the tribuneship; and Lucius Opimius, one of his most violent opponents, was chosen consul.

285. Reduced to the situation of a private citizen, and deserted by those whose gratitude he had deserved, the career of Gracchus was approaching its close. Opimius prepared to signalise his consulship by reversing the measures of the Gracchi. In all public places, such as the

Forum, or the Comitium in front of the Capitol, there were, so to speak, two mobs—the consul's mob, and the mob of Gracchus and his colleague in the triumvirate, Fulvius Flaccus. It was only when surrounded by these body-guards of partisans that the leading political men of Rome could, in times of excitement, account themselves safe in public places; and petty scuffles between the opposed mobs were not uncommon. In one such scuffle between the attendants of Opimius and those of Gracchus, one of the consul's lictors was killed for having cried out, as he approached a crowd, 'Clear the way for the good citizens, you rascals.' The consul, availing himself of the incident, called a meeting of the senate; and the body of the murdered lictor was exposed in the Forum. The senate authorised the consul to 'take care that the republic should suffer no injury'—a form of expression equivalent to a commission of absolute power for the occasion. The consul armed a band of senators, and others who adhered to him. The great body of the citizens, and especially the equites, whose wealth rendered them averse to social disturbances, kept aloof. Next morning Gracchus, to save his life, quitted his own house, taking a tender leave of his wife, and sought refuge in the Aventine, the meanest quarter of the town. His colleague, Fulvius Flaccus, accompanied him. Gracchus, it is said, was averse to bloodshed; but Fulvius armed as many of the populace and of the slaves as he could. Resistance, however, was vain. Twice Fulvius sent his son, a youth of eighteen years, to negotiate with the senate; the second time the youth was detained, and thrown into prison. The consul and his band forced their way into the Aventine; the mob which had gathered round the colleagues dispersed itself; the rest of the inhabitants looked idly on. Fulvius was killed in an old bath, where he had hid himself. Gracchus, leaping down the high wall of the temple of Diana, sprained his foot in the fall, and was with difficulty able to move towards the Sublician bridge, crossing which, he took refuge in a sacred grove, called 'The Wood of the Furies,' on the other side of the Tiber. Here, seeing no possibility of escape—the consul having promised to those who should bring him

the heads of Gracchus and Fulvius their weights in gold—he ordered a faithful slave, who had accompanied him, to kill him. The slave did so, and then killed himself over his master. The bodies of the slain, including those of Fulvius and Gracchus, were thrown into the Tiber; and the number of victims, including those who were summarily put to death afterwards by the consul, exceeded three thousand. The atrocities of the triumphant party were fearful. The agrarian commissioner, Carbo, saved his life by changing his principles, for which he received the additional reward of being chosen consul for the following year. He was attacked, however, with such severity for his political conduct, by Lucius Crassus, the brother-in-law of Caius Gracchus, and a young man of great promise, that, to escape public punishment, he committed suicide.

286. This attack upon Carbo was the only immediate check that the victorious party received. Otherwise, the counter-revolution seemed all but complete. The claims of the Italian allies were hushed; a resumption of the judicial power by the senatorial order might yet be effected; or, if it could not, the consequences of allowing it to remain in the hands of the equites did not seem very important; and lastly, although the agrarian law could not be formally repealed, it would be possible, by skilful management, to destroy it by degrees. This was what was actually accomplished; and during ten years after the death of the second Gracchus, it might have seemed that their labours had been vain. This, however, was true only in appearance; the Gracchi were the first representatives of a spirit which was growing in the Commonwealth, and Cornelia, their mother, lived to see their services appreciated. Residing at Misenum, in a house which used to be crowded with visitors, the aged woman, we are told, 'bore her misfortunes with a noble spirit: she would speak of her sons without showing sorrow or shedding a tear, relating their sufferings and their deeds to inquiring friends, as if she were speaking of the men of the olden time.'

287. During the civil commotions arising from the reforms of the Gracchi, the arms of the Romans had not been allowed to rust. Besides the war in Asia, necessary

to secure the bequest of King Attalus of Pergamus, there had been wars with the Dalmatians and the Gauls, the effects of which were to strengthen the Roman power on the east of the Adriatic, and to lay open an overland route into Spain, by Romanising the country between the Alps and the Pyrenees. These wars, however, were insignificant, compared with that which broke out with Jugurtha, king of Numidia, some years after the counter-revolution which followed the death of Caius Gracchus. Micipsa, the son and successor of Masinissa, dying in 636, had divided his kingdom by his will between his two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, and his nephew Jugurtha. Jugurtha, who had served with great distinction in the Roman armies in Spain, was a far abler man than either of his cousins; and, resolved to possess himself of the whole kingdom of Numidia, he murdered Hiempsal, and drove Adherbal into exile. Adherbal made his complaint to the Romans. Ten commissioners were appointed, with Opimius, the opponent of Caius Gracchus, at their head, to decide between Jugurtha and Adherbal, assigning each his portion of the kingdom. Jugurtha bribed the commissioners with large sums of gold, so as to procure the best part of Numidia for himself. No sooner had they departed, than he invaded the territories of Adherbal; nor did he relax his activity until he had taken the town of Cirta, and put to death not only Adherbal, but also the Italians who were in his service. For impunity for this daring act he trusted to the power of bribery over his masters, the Roman senators, many of whom, it is said, he had already secured by pensions.

288. There were still, however, men of integrity in Rome; and one of these, the tribune Caius Memmius, raised such a storm by his denunciations of the corrupt conduct of the recent commissioners, that the pensioners of Jugurtha were obliged to be silent. Calpurnius Bestia, one of the consuls of the year 643, was sent with an army into Numidia. Jugurtha had not expected this; but he did not lose hope, and either by bribery or cunning, he succeeded in obtaining a peace, which, although in appearance a surrender, was in reality a triumph. Bestia, return-

ing home, was attacked by Memmius; and in order that a full investigation might be made into his conduct, and that of the other Roman officers who had been concerned in the arrangement of the treaty, Jugurtha himself was brought to Rome, his safety having been solemnly guaranteed by the state. In the very heart of Rome the Numidian carried on his intrigues: Bæbius, a fellow-tribune of Memmius, was bribed to oppose his colleague; and so many were bought over, that the inquiry was quashed. Presuming on the pledge given for his safety, the audacious African contrived even to procure the assassination of a descendant of Masinissa, then residing in Rome, whose claims, he feared, might on some future occasion be opposed to his. In short, the result of Jugurtha's visit to Rome justified the words which he is said to have used, as he turned to gaze on it when commencing his homeward journey—'A city for sale, if there were any one to buy it.'

289. The consul of the year 644 having left the army in Numidia under the command of his brother, Jugurtha succeeded in defeating it, and compelling it to agree to a disgraceful treaty. This roused public indignation at Rome; the investigation which Jugurtha's gold had broken off was revived; Opimius, Bestia, and other guilty parties, were condemned; and the command in Numidia, for the following year, was assigned to Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, a man whose integrity no bribe could shake. He did not scruple, however, to employ bribes to gain over the adherents of Jugurtha; and so successfully did he pursue this policy, while at the same time exercising his great military abilities, that Jugurtha, after a resolute resistance of two years, found himself reduced to great straits, and likely to lose his kingdom. It was destined, however, that this harassing war should be brought to a conclusion, not by Metellus, but by a much more celebrated man. This was Caius Marius, a native of Arpinum in Latium, born of very poor parents, all but totally illiterate, and with a character rough and massive, like his bodily frame. He had served along with Jugurtha under Scipio Africanus in Spain, and by his extraordinary abilities and courage as a soldier, had raised himself to high distinction in the Roman

army. Military distinction among the Romans necessarily led to political activity at home; and Marius, as a *novus homo*, showed a resolute spirit of opposition to the aristocratic party, which had held the government since the death of Caius Gracchus. Having gained great credit by his administration as prætor in Spain, and strengthened his social influence by a marriage with a lady of the family of the Cæsars, he had been chosen, when about fifty years of age, to accompany Metellus as legate into Numidia. Aspiring, conscious of his own superiority to Metellus, and popular to an extraordinary degree with the soldiers, who liked his blunt, rough manners, and regarded him as one of themselves, Marius conceived the idea of becoming a candidate for the consulship, and thus getting the Jugurthine war into his own hands. He was encouraged, it is said, to hope for success by a Syrian or Jewish prophetess called Martha, who accompanied him wherever he went, and in whose predictions he believed with as undoubting faith as that with which, when a field-labourer in Arpinum, he had believed in the vulgar omens of the country people. Metellus, however, laughed at his project of suing for the consulship. 'Wait,' he said jestingly, 'till my boy shall be old enough to be your colleague.'

290. To the amazement of Metellus, Marius was not only elected consul, but was intrusted with the conduct of the war in Numidia. As he owed his elevation to the popular favour, so from the first he showed his resolution to league himself, heart and soul, with the populace. Raising new levies from the lowest classes of society, he sailed for Numidia to supersede his former commander. Jugurtha had, in the meantime, obtained the assistance of his father-in-law Bocchus, king of Mauritania; but the able generalship of Marius defeated all the plans of the allies; and Bocchus at length became willing to purchase forgiveness for his own share in the war by betraying his son-in-law. The successful execution of a plot which he contrived for that purpose ended the war. Curiously enough, however, as Marius had robbed Metellus of the honour of bringing the war to a conclusion, so he was, in turn, robbed by another of the reputation accruing from the

finishing act of the war—the capture of Jugurtha. The person whom he had employed as his delegate in the negotiations with Bocchus was a young man named Sulla, or, more fully, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, then acting as quæstor in the Roman army. The credit which Sulla obtained, by being the agent in the capture of Jugurtha, is said to have been a source of great vexation to Marius. Splendid, however, was the triumph of Marius on his entry into Rome, on the 1st of January 650; for to his other honours the people had added that of electing him to a second consulship in his absence, although, in doing so, they violated the established rule. The fate of Jugurtha was horrible. After walking in chains before the chariot of the conqueror, he was thrust naked into a dungeon. He appeared to be already insane; and when, after tearing off his clothes, and also his earrings, the executioners were letting him down into the hole—'Oh, Hercules!' said he, with a grinning laugh, 'how cold your bath is!' He struggled with famine for six days, and then died.

291. It was not without good reason that the people had elected Marius to a second consulship. For nine years, Rome had been kept in a state of alarm, by the knowledge that an enormous mass of barbarians—consisting partly of Cimbri, or, as we would now call them, of Cymric Celts, and partly of a new people called Teutones, a word which has since been applied as the general designation of the great German race to which they belonged—was hovering on the northern frontiers of Italy. Driven from their northern homes by some unknown cause, these Celtic and German populations, as they may be called—for their numbers appear to have been past calculation, and the men were accompanied by their wives and children—had descended into the fertile south of Europe, where, dispersing in several bodies, they ravaged Illyricum, Gaul, and even advanced as far as the Pyrenees, in search of a country where they might settle. To cross the Alps, and take possession of Italy, became at length their great object. 'If you give us lands among you,' said the poor homeless creatures to the first Roman officials they encountered, 'we will fight for you.' Already several armies had

been sent from Rome to oppose them; but these had been overwhelmed, and all but annihilated; and as soon as Marius had ended the war with Jugurtha, it was resolved to employ his unrivalled military talents against these terrible swarms of savages from the north. For this reason he had been chosen consul for the second time.

292. Marius marched north to meet the Cimbri. Fortunately, however, the barbarians were at this time occupied in an invasion of Spain; and it was not till the year 652 that, having been repelled from that country, they prepared to force their way across the Alps into Italy. The delay was a happy circumstance for Rome, for it had enabled Marius to inure his troops to a system of labour and discipline unknown till then among the Roman armies. Nor, while the danger lasted, could the Roman people think of depriving Marius of his consulship. Accordingly, when, in 652, he advanced to take up his station on the banks of the Rhone, so as to arrest the main band of the barbarians on their march through Gaul, it was as consul for the fourth time. His colleague, who was to employ himself in defending another route against the remainder, was Quintus Lutatius Catulus. It was only by availing himself of the advantages which a disciplined army possesses over a horde of barbarians, that Marius could hope to conquer such a mass as that which was opposed to him. Retreating, therefore, towards the Alps, he suffered the barbarians, who consisted for the most part of Teutones, to pass by his camp, jeering at the Roman soldiers as they went, and inquiring whether they had any messages to send to their wives. At length, in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix in Provence), Marius gave battle to the barbarians. The battle extended over two days, even the women of the savages taking part in it, standing with axes in their hands beside the little carts which contained their property, and inflicting fearful gashes on the enemy, and on such of their countrymen as gave way. The Romans, however, were victorious: the wretched horde of outcasts was literally annihilated, hundreds perishing by their own hands after the battle; and on the third night, Marius made his thank-offering to the gods in a huge blaze of fire, rising to the

sky from a pile of all the broken arms and timbers collected from the field. Lo! at that moment messengers arrived to announce his election to the consulship for the fifth time. What man on earth was then so great as Marius? And yet few things in history are more melancholy than that which made him great—the slaughter of a multitude of human beings, moving hither and thither on the face of the earth, with their wagons and cattle, in search of a home, which it was the interest of their fellow-beings to prevent them from obtaining.

293. Before Marius could arrange his triumph in Rome, it became necessary for him to march northwards again, to complete his victory by destroying a second horde of the barbarians, who, having separated from their Teutonic brethren many months before, had crossed the Noric Alps in the face of the other consul, Catulus, and were now descending the Atesis towards the Po, ignorant of the fate which had already befallen their comrades at Aquæ Sextiæ. Joining his forces with those of Catulus, he met and defeated the barbarians near Verona, in the month of July 653. On this occasion, too, the slaughter was terrible; many of the Cimbric women killing themselves and their children, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. For this victory Marius and Catulus triumphed together, and it became a subject of dispute which had won the battle. Sulla, likewise, had a share of the merit, having acted as second under Catulus. By the acclamations of Rome, however, the whole glory was voted to Marius. He was elected consul for the sixth time—an honour never accorded to any citizen before except one; he was hailed as the Third Founder of Rome, and libations were poured out to him as to a god. The captive Celts and Germans were dispersed throughout Italy as gladiators and public slaves; and their numbers served to increase the danger arising from the existence of so large a slave population—a danger which had again been exhibited in a fearful manner by a second but unsuccessful revolt of the slaves in Sicily.

CHAPTER III.

THE CIVIL WARS, ASIATIC CONQUESTS, AND ANNIHILATION OF THE REPUBLIC.—B. C. 101–31.—Y. R. 653–723.

294. The ten years which followed the conquest of the Cimbri, and the sixth consulship of Marius, were passed in commotions preliminary to a great convulsion which was to shatter in pieces the already decayed fabric of the Roman Commonwealth. The same social wretchedness prevailed in the capital which had called forth the efforts of the Gracchi; the same system of corrupt provincial administration continued, which even the more upright exercise of the judicial power on the part of the equites had not been able to amend; and intermediate between the pauper citizens and the oppressed provincials, were the Italian allies clamouring for liberty. How to relieve the pauperism of the Roman population itself—how to decide on the claims of the Italian allies to be admitted to the franchise—and how to secure good government for the provinces—were the great questions which, in the year B.C. 100, would have engaged the attention of a philanthropic Roman statesman, had any such existed. Upon the first two, the leading citizens were divided into two parties. At the head of the popular party was Marius, who, during his whole career, had shown a disposition to elevate the lowest of the community to the privileges which then belonged to the wealthy and powerful classes; his coadjutors were two of the tribunes, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, and Caius Servilius Glaucia, men who, though they pretended to follow in the footsteps of the Gracchi, were animated by quite a different spirit, and had gained their offices by lawless means. At the head of the other party were such senators as Metellus, the former commander, and now the political enemy of Marius; Sulla also, although he had not yet held any conspicuous office in the state, was known to be violently aristocratic in his sentiments. Such, in the

sixth consulship of Marius, were the beginnings of a civil contest which was to continue for upwards of half a century, and deluge the Roman dominions with blood.

295. Saturninus proposed an agrarian law for dividing a portion of Gaul, which the Cimbri had overrun, among the poor citizens and the soldiers of Marius. As the majority of the latter were Italians, and many of them had even been slaves, the measure was vehemently opposed: it was nevertheless carried, along with several others of a similar nature; and in order to compel the senate to pass them, it was decreed that any senator who should persist for five days in refusing to swear to the laws, should be fined and expelled from the senate. None of the senators had courage to brave the consequences of a refusal except Metellus, who, scorning on the one hand to swear against his conscience, and unwilling, on the other, to be the cause of a tumult, retired into exile at Rhodes. The violence of Saturninus and his partisans, however, soon brought matters to a crisis. Re-elected tribune, Saturninus was resolved to procure the consulship for his adherent Glaucia; and did not scruple to assassinate, in open day, Caius Memmius, the opposing candidate. This outrage roused the senate; Marius, as consul, was empowered to 'see that the Commonwealth received no injury.' Compelled thus to act against his own friends, whose conduct had probably already disgusted him as it had the populace, he besieged them in the Capitol; and by cutting off the supply of water, obliged them to surrender, when they fell victims to the infuriated mob. Metellus was recalled amid universal acclamations; and Marius, his sixth consulship over, went into Asia.

296. Eight or nine years passed, during which no events of much historical importance occurred. At length, however, during the consulship of Lucius Marcius Philippus, and Sextus Julius Cæsar, in the year 663, the smothered fire again burst out. Marcus Livius Drusus, the son of the rival of Caius Gracchus, was one of the tribunes for that year; and being a man of very great talents and of high character, he did not hesitate to undertake the difficult task of reforming the Commonwealth. His

scheme of legislation was of the most extensive description. One of its chief articles was a measure for doubling the size of the senate, by adding 300 men of the equestrian order to the 300 existing members. The judicial power, however, was to be taken from the equites, and vested in 600 members of the senate as thus remodelled. Besides this, Drusus proposed various new colonies, and a new distribution of lands by an agrarian law, of a just and impartial description. Finally, to allay the principal cause of social discontent, he proposed to confer the full franchise on the Italians. This extensive and really conscientious scheme of legislation displeased almost all the parties which it was intended to reconcile; the Italians alone recognised him as their leader, and promised to obey him unconditionally. As Drusus was a proud and impetuous man, it is impossible to say to what extremities he might not have proceeded as champion of the Italian cause: his career, however, was cut short by the blow of an unknown assassin; and on his death, his measures were instantly reversed.

297. Despairing of obtaining their just claims by mere political agitation, the Italians resolved to obtain them by force. Accordingly, the Picentians, the Vestinians, the Marsians, the Pelignians, the Marrucinians, the Samnites, and the Lucanians—all of them people of the old Sabellian stock—formed a confederacy, with the avowed object of either gaining the franchise of that state which they had contributed by their blood and treasure to raise to its present eminence, or of annihilating that state, and founding a new Italian republic on a more liberal basis. Their first step was to set up a rival constitution to that of Rome. Corfinium, the chief town of the Pelignians, was named Italica, and made the capital of the intended republic; two consuls were appointed; twelve prætors chosen to conduct the war under the consuls; and 500 citizens elected from the various states to act as a deliberative body or senate. Such was the formidable commencement of the celebrated *Social*, *Marsic*, or *Italian* War, in the year 664. The Latins, the Hernicans, the Etruscans, the Umbrians, and various towns throughout Italy, adhered faithfully to Rome. The consuls of the year were Lucius Julius

Cæsar and Publius Rutilius Lupus; and under these were appointed twelve legates to conduct the war, among whom were Marius (who had returned to Rome), Sulla, and Cneius Pompeius Strabo.

298. The Social War lasted two years, during which the whole peninsula was distracted, and 300,000 Italians are believed to have lost their lives. At first, the insurgents gained many successes; but the Romans, in consequence of the great abilities of their generals, especially Sulla and Strabo, ultimately gained the superiority; and state after state was detached from the confederacy, and obliged to conclude a separate peace. The Samnites and Lucanians alone continued to hold out. It is probable that the allies were induced to lay down arms sooner than they otherwise would have done, by intimations addressed to each state separately that the franchise would be granted to them. At all events, although the Romans conquered, the Italians gained their point, and all the various states were successively admitted to the rights of citizenship. On the Latins, indeed, it had been conferred at the commencement of the war by an express law of the consul Cæsar. The effect of this admission of the free inhabitants of the whole peninsula to the rights of citizenship, was greatly to increase the population, and the commercial and political stir of the metropolis. To prevent, however, the new citizens from gaining a preponderance in political affairs over those of older standing, they were not distributed through the thirty-five existing tribes, but were arranged in eight, or, according to another account, in fifteen new ones.

299. Scarcely had the Marsic War been finished, when the Commonwealth was involved in a new contest with an enemy inferior only to Hannibal in the splendour of his career, and the persevering enmity which he displayed against the Romans. This was Mithridátes VI., king of Pontus, in Asia Minor. His ancestors had ruled over Pontus from a very remote period; nor had this part of Asia fallen under the Greek yoke of Alexander the Great. His father had assisted the Romans in their effort to subdue Pergamus, when that kingdom, which had been bequeathed to them by Attalus,

was retained by Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, the predecessor of Attalus. For this service they made him a present of part of Great Phrygia, or rather they consented to sell it to him. Afterwards, however, when his son was yet a minor, they took back the territory. The young monarch bore the wrong without complaint, and sought a field for the exercise of his abilities, where he could not come into collision with the Romans. During the recent civil commotions in Italy, he had extended his dominion largely along the coasts of the Euxine, and had raised himself to the rank of the most powerful native monarch in Asia. The eyes of the Romans, however, were everywhere; and an attempt of Mithridates to settle a relative on the vacant throne of Cappadocia, so as to extend his own sovereignty over that country, afforded them an opportunity for interfering to suppress so unseasonable a manifestation of vitality in the East. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, was set up by them as a claimant for the throne of Cappadocia; and the Roman authorities in Asia did not hesitate to begin a war with Mithridates. The outburst which followed was fearful. The armies of the Commonwealth were defeated; all Asia Minor, with the exception of the Rhodians and Lycians, rallied round the Pontic king; an immense number of Roman settlers in Asia Minor were massacred; the islands of the Ægean welcomed the news of the rise of a rival to the Romans; and lastly, when Mithridates advanced as far as Greece, and sent emissaries into it, the Grecian states, with the Athenians at their head, embraced his cause with open arms, recognising in him an Oriental by birth, but a Greek by culture, and a deliverer from the Roman bondage.

300. The war with Mithridates was the chief topic of public interest at Rome; and in the year 666, Sulla, whose merits in the Marsic War had been so conspicuous, was raised to the consulship, in conjunction with Quintus Pompeius Rufus, in order that the state might have the benefit of his services in Asia. Sulla was now about forty-nine years old: Marius was seventy. Nor was difference of age the only point of contrast between the two. The latter was of humble birth, and violently democratic in his political

opinions, and his extraordinary native abilities had derived little aid from education; the former, though born poor, was of a high patrician family, his opinions were violently aristocratic, and in all Rome there was not a more masterly Greek scholar, or a man fonder of intellectual pursuits. Literature and sensuality divided his time; authors, actors, jesters, and debauched Greek wits were his favourite companions; and when he engaged in active life, it was not with the zest of a man eager for applause, but with the air of a man who had other sources of enjoyment, and who entertained a profound contempt for those whom he was serving.

301. The appointment of Sulla to the consulship, and the thoughts of the glory which he would reap in the war with Mithridates, occasioned the bitterest jealousy in Marius, who felt himself becoming old and useless. Accordingly, while the consul was making preparations for his departure, Publius Sulpicius Rufus, a tribune, and a man of high reputation, concerted with Marius a plan for transferring to him the command by a decree of the people. Either as a means to this end, or as an independent measure, Sulpicius proposed to increase the political influence of the Italians, by abolishing the newly-formed tribes, and distributing their members through the thirty-five old ones. For many days, Rome was a scene of contention and riot; but in the end, Sulpicius prevailed, and his measures were carried. Meanwhile, Sulla had gone to Nola, where a Roman army was employed in crushing the relics of the Marsic War. No sooner had he heard of the decree depriving him of his command, than, putting himself at the head of six legions, he marched against the capital. The citizens were in consternation; orders and intreaties were sent out to him not to approach his native city as an armed enemy. Disregarding these, he advanced to the gates, and dislodging those who attempted to resist his entrance, soon made himself master of the city. The populace cheered and submitted; the leading men of the Marian party fled; Sulpicius was overtaken and killed; Marius, his son, and nine others, were outlawed, and a price was set upon their heads. After wan-

dering about the sea-coast for some time in a state of great wretchedness, and effecting some very narrow escapes, Marius contrived to procure a passage to one of the small islands on the African coast; and here he was joined by his son and a few friends, who were to wait with him the approach of better days; for Marius relied firmly on a prophecy which promised him a seventh consulship.

302. Sulla used his victory with moderation. Anxious to depart with his army, he even allowed Lucius Cornelius Cinna, an adherent of Marius, to be elected to the consulship, along with Cneius Octavius, a partisan of his own, only exacting an oath from Cinna, that during his absence he would not attempt a counter-revolution in favour of Marius. This and other arrangements having been made, he set out for Greece, to punish that country for revolting from its allegiance. Scarcely was he gone, when Italy was again thrown into confusion. Quintus Pompeius, the colleague of Sulla in the consulship, and his political adherent, having been invested by the senate with the command of the troops in Italy, that, during Sulla's absence, he might maintain the existing order of things, was murdered by the soldiers of his namesake, Cneius Pompeius Strabo, when he came to place himself at their head. Strabo, an ambitious and unprincipled man, thus remained at the head of the troops at home, ready to assume a part in any civil uproar which might occur during Sulla's absence. Nor had he long to wait. Cinna, disregarding his engagement, gave the signal for a counter-revolution, by bringing forward a measure similar to that of the tribune Sulpicius, for distributing the new Latin and Italian citizens through the old Roman tribes, so as to increase their influence in the comitia. The Italians poured into the city to support Cinna; the senate, with the other consul, Octavius, at their head, led the opposition: after much riot and bloodshed, Cinna was defeated; and failing in an attempt to rouse the slave population in his favour, he fled from the city. The senate immediately ventured on an unexampled exercise of authority, and deposed Cinna from the consulship, appointing Lucius Cornelius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, in his room. The population of Rome

generally, and many Italians, adhered to the senate; but the bulk of the latter eagerly attached themselves to the cause of the deposed consul. Supplied with money by various towns, he gained to his side the army which was still encamped at Nola in Samnium. Among the distinguished Romans who gathered round him were Cneius Carbo and Quintus Sertorius; the latter one of the ablest officers and most excellent men of the age, and who, though his principles had led him early to embrace the party of Marius, under whom he had served in the Cimbric war, was animated by purer motives, and a more humane spirit, than many of those with whom he was thus associated.

303. Marius also could not be long absent from the scene of a struggle in the issue of which he was so much interested. Recalled by Cinna, the old soldier landed, all ragged and in disorder, on the Tuscan coast, breathing vengeance against those who had driven him into exile. A body of six or seven thousand men quickly gathered round him; and with these he stationed himself on the Tiber, between Rome and the sea, while Cinna and Carbo sat down before the city, and Sertorius encamped above it. Meanwhile, the senate had summoned Cneius Pompeius with his troops, that he might assist in defending the city. For many weeks, the siege continued. Various engagements took place between the troops of the besiegers and those of Pompeius and Octavius. At length, after thousands of the citizens had been swept off by famine and pestilence, and after numbers had deserted to the enemy, the senate saw the necessity of surrendering. Pompeius had in the meantime been killed by lightning. Cinna compelled the senate to sue for peace in the most humiliating form; and the grim smile of old Marius, as he stood by Cinna's chair, showed the messengers what was to be expected as soon as the gates were opened. To hold out longer, however, was impossible, and Marius followed Cinna into the town. The butchery which ensued was fearful. Every man of note of the party of Sulla who could not succeed in making his escape was murdered. Marius kept a band of ruffians continually employed to track out his enemies in their

hiding-places. The consul Octavius, and the celebrated orator Marcus Antonius, were among the victims; Merula and Catulus, the colleague of Marius in the Cimbric war, put an end to their lives.

304. Thus, by a bloody counter-revolution, was the Marian party reinstated in the government of Rome, in the year 667. Marius took care that the prediction which promised him a seventh consulship should be fulfilled, for he caused himself to be elected along with Cinna to the consulship of the following year. After enjoying the honour only sixteen days, the bloody old soldier, who, during the recent massacres of his enemies, had been himself tottering on the brink of the grave, died, dreaming, it is said, in his deathbed delirium, that he was in a field of battle. On the death of Marius, Cinna chose as his colleague a citizen named Valerius Flaccus, whom, as it was necessary to extend to the provinces the counter-revolution which had been effected in Rome, he despatched at the head of an army into Asia, to conduct, under the auspices of the republic, the war which Sulla was conducting on his own authority. Flaccus, however, having been murdered in Asia by his lieutenant, Caius Flavius Fimbria, who forthwith assumed the command of the army, Cinna took for his colleague Cneius Papirius Carbo, and in conjunction with him he continued to exercise the tyranny during the years 669 and 670.

305. Meanwhile, every one knew that the government of Cinna was only temporary, and that a fearful reaction would inevitably occur as soon as Sulla should have brought the war with Mithridates to such a point as to be at leisure to return to Italy. The intelligence of the triumph of his political enemies at home, had not in the slightest degree affected the perseverance with which the aristocratic leader had pursued his plans as a general abroad. A short time had sufficed for the reduction of Greece, where the only city which offered any decided resistance was Athens—a sophist of the name of Aristion defending it in the interest of Mithridates. Athens, however, was taken after a horrible siege; the famous harbour of the Piræus was demolished; and Sulla signalised his

victory by a fearful carnage among the inhabitants. The capture of Athens recovered the whole of Achaia; and an additional battle or two with Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, drove back the Pontic soldiers across the Ægean. Sulla, however, did not yet return to Rome, but crossing over into Asia Minor, compelled Mithridates to agree to a peace, by which he gave up Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and promised to the Romans seventy ships of war and 2000 talents. It is probable that Sulla would not have concluded the peace on so easy terms with a man who had inflicted such injuries upon the Commonwealth, had he not known that Fimbria, who was then in Asia, had been instructed by Cinna to attempt a coalition with Mithridates. Sulla's skill having rendered any such attempt hopeless, Fimbria, finding himself deserted by his soldiers, committed suicide, lest he should fall into the hands of his opponent. Those parts of Asia Minor which had revolted from the Romans were now at Sulla's mercy; and although they were already impoverished by the exactions of Mithridates, he levied contributions from them to the amount of about five millions sterling. Unable to pay their shares of this enormous sum, the various towns and communities borrowed money from many of Sulla's own officers at the rate of 30 or 40 per cent. of interest; and as these officers were left in military command in Asia, or were sent back to it with military commissions, they took care to repay themselves by the most remorseless means. With upwards of 30,000 men devoted to his service, Sulla quitted Asia, followed by the curses of thousands of ruined families, and after passing through Greece, steered his course for Italy, there to begin a new career of desolation.

306. It was in the year 671 that Sulla, after an absence of five years from Italy, landed at Brundusium. Cinna had been slain in the previous year by his own soldiers, whom he was endeavouring to embark for Greece against their will, that he might oppose Sulla there; and the consuls in whose hands the government now rested were Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Julius Norbanus—men, apparently, of old patrician descent, who had embraced the views of the popular party. The forces nomi-

nally at the disposal of the government were much larger than those of Sulla; but so weak was the feeling throughout Italy in favour of the ruling party, that Sulla was able to push his way northwards into Campania before the close of the year, with an army not only undiminished, but enlarged by desertions from those of the consuls. Hither, also, many of the old aristocratic party, who, during Cinna's government, had lived in retirement, flocked to join him, and among them Cneius Pompeius, better known by his Anglicised name of Pompey, the son of that Cneius Pompeius Strabo who had been one of the most distinguished generals in the Marsic War. Notwithstanding the unpopularity of his father, Pompey, who at this time was only in his twenty-fourth year, had early become a general favourite; and such, in particular, was his influence among the inhabitants of Picenum, where he usually resided, that he was able to raise an army of 16,000 men, with which he set out to join Sulla, by whom he was received with distinguished attention.

307. During the winter of 671–2, Carbo, who had been Cinna's colleague and survivor in the year 669, and who had virtually governed Rome during the consulship of Scipio and Norbanus, caused himself to be nominated consul for the second time along with Caius Marius the younger. In the spring of 672, hostilities were renewed: the younger Marius lying between Sulla and Rome; Carbo acting in Etruria and Cisalpine Gaul against Pompey and his associates in command. Sulla advanced from Capua, and shattering the forces of Marius in a battle near Setia in Latium, compelled him to seek refuge in Prænesté, while he himself advanced to Rome. Here he found many of those from whom he had expected a welcome murdered; Marius having, in the midst of his own reverses, sent orders to his friends to put all the principal aristocrats in the city to death. Hastily quitting the city, Sulla marched northwards into Etruria; and Carbo and Norbanus, who were maintaining the struggle there, despairing of success, fled, the one to Africa, the other to Rhodes. Meanwhile the Samnites and Lucanians, who alone of all the Italians continued to adhere to that poli-

tical party with whose success the cause of Italian liberty was associated, were advancing in large force to seize Rome, having in vain attempted to relieve Prænesté, which one of Sulla's officers was besieging. Sulla, hastening to the city, met the Samnites at the Colline Gate; a fierce battle ensued, in which the latter fought with their ancient national valour. They were defeated, however, with immense slaughter: Pontius Telesinus, one of their leaders, was among the dead. His brother and the younger Marius, finding escape impossible, killed each other in Prænesté, in which the former commanded. The town then surrendered at discretion; and all the inhabitants, except such as were old Roman citizens, were put to the sword. The fall of Prænesté was the concluding act of the war; and in December 672, Sulla was undisputed sovereign of Italy.

308. Then began those horrible scenes of retaliation and massacre which have made the name of Sulla so detestable in history. It seemed to be his object to remould the Roman state according to his wishes, by removing out of it, in one general destruction, every person who was, or who might at any future time become, too active as a citizen. At length one of his adherents ventured to ask him to relieve the state from suspense, by making public the names of those whom he meant to execute. In compliance with this request, he published a succession of what were called *proscriptions;* that is, lists of persons condemned to death, whom all the citizens were forbidden to harbour, and for whose heads a reward was offered. The consequence was a succession of daily murders; slaves killing their masters, and even persons their proscribed relatives. Upwards of 1600 persons of the equestrian order perished in this manner. The goods and property of the proscribed were sold; and many of Sulla's partisans acquired enormous fortunes by purchasing in so cheap a market. Nor was his vengeance confined to the city; over all Italy individuals were selected as victims; and there was hardly a spot in the whole peninsula which did not suffer, either by the loss of some of its inhabitants, or by being obliged to receive a number of soldiers in the form of a military

colony. Between twenty and thirty legions of soldiers were distributed in little communities over Italy, lands being provided for them either out of the waste and confiscated property of the neighbourhood, or by dispossessing the actual proprietors; and these colonies, the source of so much individual misery, became the safeguard of Sulla's government. The winter of 672–3 was long remembered throughout Italy as a time of blood and disaster, and broken family fortunes.

309. Yet if Sulla's aim was to remove from the Italian population every remaining particle of the political leaven which had so long kept it in a state of fermentation, he did not succeed. In Rome itself, many lives were spared upon which more important results depended than could have been foreseen. One young man especially, then about eighteen or nineteen years of age, he would not have permitted to escape had he been aware what a vast and aspiring soul lay as yet dormant in him. This was Caius Julius Cæsar, a scion of the ancient patrician house of the Julii, which, although in the early times of the republic it had produced several distinguished men, had for a long time remained in obscurity, and was only beginning to be again prominent. A circumstance which probably assisted in bringing the family of the Cæsars into notice about this time was the marriage of Julia, the sister of Cæsar's father, with the great Marius. It was in the year 654, the year of the celebrated sixth consulship of his uncle Marius, on the 12th day of July, that Cæsar was born. In his sixteenth year he was left an orphan, by the sudden death of his father; and, already connected through his aunt Julia with the Marian party, he soon afterwards associated himself still more closely with that party by marrying Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna. During the government of his father-in-law, Cæsar had of course occupied a conspicuous place in the society of the city; and though extremely young, he had been appointed to the high office of *flamen*, or priest of Jupiter. Tall in stature, handsome, fair-complexioned, but with bright black eyes, the young priest had been noted even among his gay companions for the extreme care with which he dressed his hair, for the licen-

tiousness of his manners, and, above all, for his reckless extravagance with regard to money. These qualities, the universality of his accomplishments, and a certain genial overflowing disposition, rendered him a favourite among the young Roman nobles; and only the few could appreciate the more formidable points of his character—the incessant activity of his spirit, and his courage at once impetuous and obstinate. This last quality he showed in a remarkable manner when Sulla, to whom his relationship both to Marius and Cinna made him an object of attention, commanded him to divorce his wife Cornelia. Although he risked death by the refusal, the young husband would not give up his wife. Her property was immediately confiscated, and for some time Cæsar was obliged to resort to the most desperate means to elude the fury of Sulla. Finally, however, the interference of some of his friends induced Sulla to spare his life, a life on which the destinies of Rome depended.

310. For upwards of two years, Sulla, who had caused himself to be appointed perpetual dictator, and who had added to his name the epithet *Felix*, or 'The Fortunate,' continued to govern Rome with absolute power—the consuls, who were regularly appointed as usual, acting only as his creatures. Throughout Italy, the Marian faction seemed effectually crushed: Pompey, as Sulla's agent, speedily reduced Sicily and Africa, services for which he obtained a triumph, and the surname of *Magnus*, or 'The Great.' Asia, Macedonia, and Greece, had recently been subdued by Sulla himself, and the only portion of the Roman dominions which refused to acknowledge his government was Spain, where Sertorius had sought refuge, having been appointed to the government of the province before the final ruin of the Marian cause in Italy. Sulla spent the period of his dictatorship in making alterations in the laws and constitution of the Commonwealth. The articles of his legislation were very various; their general effect, however, was to throw back the Roman constitution into that aristocratic form from which it had gradually emerged. He curtailed the power of the tribunes, by depriving them of the right which they had so long exercised of originating

public measures, and also by rendering it illegal for any one who had held the office of tribune to be afterwards elected to any other magistracy. He restored the judicial power to the senate, having previously filled up the numerous vacancies in that body by elevating partisans of his own to the senatorial rank; he abolished at the same time the right of the censors to create new senators. In the criminal code, some of Sulla's alterations are said to have been really excellent. As, notwithstanding his dictatorial authority, it was necessary for him to respect as far as possible the forms of the existing constitution, he effected many of his legislative changes by the help of 10,000 new citizens whom he had enrolled in the tribes, the greater number of them being slaves whose masters had been proscribed. These freedmen, who were called Cornelii, were his bodyguard in Rome, as his disbanded soldiers were his agents and supporters throughout the peninsula. Strangely enough, amid all these changes, the Italians still retained their recently-acquired franchise, their degradation to their old footing being a retrograde measure which even Sulla did not dare to attempt.

311. Having fully established his government, Sulla, to the surprise of all, in the year 675, abdicated, and retired into private life, professing his readiness to answer any charge that might be brought against him. In this voluntary abdication of authority, however, there was more of appearance than reality. As long as the 10,000 Cornelii remained in Rome, and the 100,000 disbanded soldiers were alive throughout Italy, there was little chance that any attempt would be made to bring Sulla to trial, or to rescind his laws; and although his abdication relieved him from the formal burden of government, and afforded him leisure for the intellectual and sensual pursuits which were congenial to his disposition, there is ample evidence to show that while he lived, he would continue to govern Rome. Fortunately, the life of this cruel and ambitious man was not long protracted. Having retired to Puteoli, where he occupied himself in country amusements, and in writing his memoirs, he died there of a hæmorrhage, caused by a fit of passion, in the year of

Rome 676, and in the sixtieth year of his age. The obsequies of Sulla were celebrated with the utmost magnificence, the corpse being conveyed in state to Rome, where it was consumed on a pyre of perfumed wood, in the presence of a vast multitude assembled in the Campus Martius.

312. Terence and Cato, the last of the Roman writers whose names have been mentioned, had both been dead some time before Sulla was born; and the sixty years over which his life extended, although fertile in men of political and military talent, had been too stormy a period to afford much literary leisure. Some poets of eminence, whose works have not reached us, had flourished during that period, among whom are mentioned Lucius Attius, a tragic poet of great power; Caius Lucilius, a satirist; and a lyric poet named Lævius. Latin prose writing, however, had not made an equal advance. Caius Gracchus is said to have spoken in a style remarkable for its sounding measure; but a history of the Social War, written in Latin by Lucius Cornelius Sisenna, was censured by later writers for its antiquated phraseology. Sulla's own memoirs, which are now lost, were written in Greek, as were various other historical pieces by his friends. At the time of Sulla's death, however, there were appearances of a rise of a new and genuine Roman literature. There was then in Rome a young advocate, only known as yet to the public by a few speeches in defence of individuals brought to trial before the courts of law, but who, among the great services which he was to render to his country, was to be distinguished for none so much as for the immense influence which he was to exert over her literature. Not only was he to originate a new literary epoch, by creating a more refined taste, and pointing out the way in which his juniors should follow; he was to bring the Latin language to perfection by his own example; and after seeing a number of young men of promise grow up under his wing, all of whom might be called his disciples, he was still in his old age to continue the greatest, the most admired, and most voluminous writer of them all. The name of this young advocate was Marcus Tullius Cicero. Born in the year 648 at Arpinum, the

native place of Marius, to whom he was related, Cicero was about the same age as Pompey, and six years older than Cæsar. He had come at an early age to reside in the capital, for the purpose of studying law; and enjoying the friendship of many men on both sides during the civil war, he had escaped suffering from the triumphs either of Marius or of Sulla. Having, however, had the courage to plead in defence of a citizen whom Sulla's agents were prosecuting on a false charge, he deemed it advisable to spend some time in Asia. Cæsar had just gone abroad for a similar reason.

313. Pompey, Cicero, and Cæsar—these were the three men destined to act the most conspicuous part in the affairs of the Roman Commonwealth. Pompey, as being already a prominent member of the dominant party, was the first to work his way to the vacant position of the foremost man in the state. It was not, however, without labour that he earned his pre-eminence. The first public service he performed, was the crushing of a counter-revolution after the death of Sulla. He subsequently reduced an insurrection which had broken out in Spain under Sertorius; and returning to Italy, assisted in concluding a terrible servile war which had been raging during his absence.

314. The account of this servile war throws considerable light on the social condition of the Roman people. The slave population of Italy, it has been mentioned, had increased to an extent dangerous to the Commonwealth. The danger had been increased by the practice, which had recently become common, of training large bands of these slaves to serve as gladiators. So strong had the passion for gladiator shows become among the Romans, that not only did wealthy citizens keep gladiators for their own private amusement, and for the gratification of their friends when they gave an entertainment, but public men used to spend large sums in the purchase of gladiators for public exhibition, as a means of winning favour with the populace. To meet the large demand thus arising, various speculators throughout Italy made a trade of buying slaves, whom they kept in barracks, under diligent training, till, having converted them into finished gladiators, they were able to dis-

pose of them at a high price. Many of the poor wretches who were thus bought and sold were vain of the part which they acted: gladiators might be heard boasting, for instance, that they were favourites with their masters or with the public; and even when dying in the amphitheatre of the wounds which they had received, they would take care to fall in a graceful attitude, so as to be applauded, and not hissed by the spectators. Among the thousands, however, who were devoted to this miserable profession, there were often men whose souls loathed it, and whose eyes ranged round the crowded galleries of men and women, for whose amusement they were exhibited, with a scowl which showed *where*, had they dared, they would have sought their victims. Such men were seventy gladiators, with a Thracian named Spartacus at their head, who, in the year 681, broke out of a training-school belonging to a slave-dealer at Capua. Joined by hundreds more, and arming themselves with clubs, hatchets, and cleavers taken from the cooks' shops, they took up a position on Mount Vesuvius. Their intention, apparently, was to force their way out of Italy, and then disperse, each to his own home in Gaul, Germany, or Thrace; but the news of their success occasioned a general insurrection of the slaves, and Spartacus soon found himself at the head of an army sufficient to resist the forces of the government. Before the close of the year he had defeated three prætors, and made himself master of Campania and Lucania. In the following year both consuls were defeated by the slaves, who, had they adhered to their original proposal of quitting Italy, were now in sufficient force to have pushed their way across the Alps. Divided in their plans, however, and some being desirous of attempting the conquest of a part of Italy, their army, amounting in all to about 120,000 men, broke up into various bodies —a circumstance which brought about their defeat by the prætor Marcus Licinius Crassus.

315. Crassus, like Pompey and others, had risen to consideration through force of character and circumstances. He was the son of a man of rank, who had been one of the generals of the Commonwealth during the Marsic War. His

father, and others of his family, having fallen in the revolution of Marius and Cinna, on account of their attachment to the aristocratic cause, Crassus had made his escape to Spain, whence he returned in time to share the triumphs of Sulla. By purchasing the property of proscribed persons, and by other practices of a questionable nature, he had acquired prodigious wealth; and this, together with his eloquence as a pleader, and his activity in public affairs, had obtained for him so much influence, that during Pompey's absence he was probably the most conspicuous man in Rome. Having been appointed to conduct the war against Spartacus, he succeeded in driving the slave-general into the extreme south of Italy. Here, failing in an attempt to effect a passage into Sicily, where the enormous slave population would have instantly risen to join him, Spartacus faced his enemy, and broke through the rampart which had been erected to confine him within the point of land, opposite Sicily, where he had taken up his position. Crassus, however, pursued him into Lucania, and a general engagement followed, in which the slaves, with their brave leader, were defeated and massacred. Pompey, who had just entered Italy on his return from Spain, defeated a small remnant who were hastening to reach the Alps.

316. As a reward for their services, Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls for the year 684, although the former had neither attained the legal age of forty-two years, nor had filled any of those inferior offices which, by a law of Sulla, were required to precede the consulship. Although they belonged to the Sullian party, they were men of more moderate sentiments than their patron had been, and their consulship was signalised by several important modifications of the constitution. The tribuneship was restored to its former footing; the powers of the censorship were also revived, for the purpose of revising the lists of senators and citizens; and the judicial authority was vested in a body consisting partly of senators, partly of equites, and partly of that respectable class of plebeians called *Tribuni Ærarii*, who acted as paymasters to the troops.

317. It might have seemed, during the consulship of

Pompey and Crassus, that the Commonwealth, so long agitated and distracted, had resumed a tranquil career of constitutional progress. This was, in truth, the case as regarded the seat of government, where the consuls did not allow their personal differences to occasion a political rupture. Much, however, remained to be done before the entire face of the Roman world could be cleared from the remains of that confusion in which the civil war had involved it. Two things, above all, demanded the immediate attention of government—the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean, and the pacification of Asia, which Mithridates had again thrown into commotion.

318. From time immemorial, the eastern portion of the Mediterranean had swarmed with pirates, who, sailing forth from their native haunts in Cilicia, interrupted the commerce of nations, and even made descents on unprotected coasts, in quest of plunder and slaves. It had always been the part of that nation which claimed for itself the dominion of the sea to keep down these pirates; but since the accession of the Romans to the supremacy of the Mediterranean, nothing effectual had been done, and the pirates had become so numerous and so bold, that hardly a ship was safe from their attacks, even at the mouth of the Tiber. For ten years, the Romans had been employing fleets, under various officers, to keep these rovers in check. These efforts, however, had failed, and it became evident that some unprecedented means of remedy must be devised. Accordingly, in the year 687, two years after the consulship of Pompey and Crassus had expired, a law was proposed, by a tribune named Gabinius, for conferring on the former such powers as would enable him effectually to crush the pirates within a period of three years. These powers were absolute authority over the whole sea, and the coasts for fifty miles inland, together with liberty to raise men and make drafts upon the public revenues. The most strenuous opposition was offered to the proposal by the senate; but the popular wishes were so decidedly expressed, and the emergency was so pressing, that the measure was carried, and Pompey was invested with an amount of official dignity which made him literally

the foremost man within the bounds of the Roman dominions.

319. The extraordinary expedient proposed by Gabinius was completely successful. With about 500 ships well manned and judiciously posted in various parts of the Mediterranean, under the command of a number of lieutenants, Pompey cleared the seas of the rovers; and having swept them in a body into their native haunts, between Cyprus and Asia Minor, he there defeated them in a great sea battle. Not the least of his merits in this great service was, that he tempered his policy with mercy. Inducing the fugitives to surrender by promises of good treatment, he distributed them in colonies through such parts of Asia Minor and Greece as had suffered depopulation during the recent wars; and thus thousands of families who had hitherto lived by piracy were provided for, and flourishing settlements were planted on spots which had long lain waste. The whole of this service was performed within a few months from the date of Pompey's appointment; the island of Crete, too, which had long served as a rendezvous for the pirates, being about the same time reduced to the condition of a Roman province by Quintus Metellus. No sooner, however, had intelligence reached Rome that Pompey was at leisure, and preparing to return to Italy, than a law was passed extending his commission so as to invest him with the supreme command of the war which had been long waging against Mithridates. This was no doubt a somewhat hazardous increase of authority; but the measure was supported by Cicero and Cæsar, who, along with others of enlarged mind, began to be of opinion that the interests of order and good government required a greater concentration of power than had hitherto been permitted by the Roman constitution.

320. Nearly eighteen years had elapsed since Sulla had brought the first war with Mithridates to a conclusion. This interval had not been one of unbroken tranquillity in Asia; the second war, however, which took place about ten years after the first, was soon terminated, and it was not till several years after Sulla's death that the third

or great Mithridatic war broke out. Availing himself of the confusion which followed the dictator's decease, the Pontic king stirred up his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia, to invade Cappadocia, over which Ariobarranes reigned in the interest of the Romans; he likewise, in the year 680, on the death of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who had in his will appointed the Roman people his heirs, made an attempt to extend his power over that part of Asia Minor also. The Roman general upon whom the conduct of this important war had devolved was Lucius Licinius Lucullus, already mentioned as a favourite officer of Sulla. Like Crassus, he had acquired immense riches; and having been chosen one of the consuls for the year 680, he was despatched into Asia, to exert, as principal there, abilities which he had formerly displayed in the same country in a subordinate capacity. Lucullus soon drove back Mithridates and his multitudinous armies from the shores of the Propontis into his native dominions, and then pursuing him thither, he obliged him ultimately to seek refuge with his son-in-law Tigranes in Armenia. After reducing Pontus, and arranging the affairs of Asia Minor, Lucullus advanced into Armenia, where, in the year 686, he took the capital Tigranocerta, and enriched his soldiers with the spoils of the country. The empire of Tigranes, king of Armenia, was at this time very large, being an assemblage of various of the fragments into which the stately Asiatic kingdom of the Seleucidæ had at length crumbled. For while the growth of the Roman power in the West had destroyed the Macedonian portion of the vast empire which Alexander the Great had founded, other causes had been at work in the East to effect a dissolution of the other two portions—the Asiatic monarchy of the Seleucidæ, and the Egyptian monarchy of the Ptolemies.

321. Instead of remaining incorporated under these two governments, the various states and principalities of the Eastern world had fallen asunder: Egypt had been confined within its ordinary limits; Phœnicia and Judæa had become independent; and three new sovereignties had risen up to the north and east of these—that of Mithridates, as we have seen, in Asia Minor; that of

Tigranes, including Armenia,* Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and nearly all Syria; and the Parthian empire, comprising nearly the whole of Persia and Babylonia, and now ruled over by a monarch named Phraates. Having, as he imagined, shattered the two former of these kingdoms, Lucullus longed to turn his arms against the third. Accordingly, taking up his head-quarters at Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, he proposed to gain additional glory by the conquest of Parthia. Difficulties, however, arising chiefly from a spirit of mutiny among his troops, with whom he was far from being popular, not only prevented the execution of his project, but even hindered him from retaining the advantages which he had already gained; and in the year 687, Mithridates was able once more to reappear in his native kingdom, and defy the Romans. Lucullus hastened into Pontus, and was employed in counteracting the movements of his versatile foe, when he received intelligence that the Romans—among whom the idea had become general that he was protracting the war from motives of personal ambition—had deprived him of his command in Bithynia and Pontus, and appointed Manius Acilius Glabrio, one of the consuls of the year, to supersede him. After a few months had elapsed, Glabrio in turn was superseded by the Manilian law passed in the beginning of 688, which, as has been already stated, conferred the entire command in Asia Minor upon Pompey. Lucullus returned in anger to Rome, where, abandoning public business, he devoted his time to literary pursuits, and earned for himself the reputation of being the most cultivated gentleman and the most luxurious epicure in Rome.

322. Pompey was absent in the East upwards of three years. Mithridates having lost in a single battle all that he had recently gained, fled into Colchis, and thence into the Cimmerian Bosphorus, a part of his dominions over which he had appointed one of his sons to act as king. Here he endeavoured to rouse the nations inhabiting the countries north of the Black Sea, so as to persuade them to follow him into Italy. Leaving him in the meantime thus employed, Pompey invaded Armenia, where, with the help of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father,

he soon overpowered all resistance. The elder Tigranes was glad to conclude a peace, by which, acknowledging the sovereignty of the Romans, and paying a large sum by way of indemnity, he was permitted to retain Armenia Proper, while the rest of his vast empire was placed at the disposal of the Romans. Part of it was at first bestowed on the younger Tigranes; but this prince, incurring the displeasure of Pompey, was ultimately placed in confinement. Syria, detached from the kingdom of Tigranes, was converted into a Roman province; and Pompey, after a vain attempt to penetrate Colchis after Mithridates, despatched one of his generals into Arabia, and in the year 691 advanced in person through Syria and Phœnicia, extending the Roman dominion to the borders of Egypt. At that time two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, were contending for the high priesthood and sovereignty of Judæa. Pompey declared for the former; and making Aristobulus prisoner, marched against Jerusalem. The city capitulated, but the temple was bravely defended by the partisans of Aristobulus for three months. Having thus extended the Roman dominion to the shores of the Red Sea, by invading and reducing countries with which he had no pretext for interfering, except that they were in a state of anarchy, and seemed to require some one to take care of them, Pompey turned his face towards the north. Fortunately, he had nothing farther to fear from Mithridates. This indefatigable monarch, now in his seventy-third year, having failed in his gigantic project of rousing the northern nations to invade Italy during Pompey's absence, and finding that his own son Pharnaces was at the head of a conspiracy against him, put an end to his life by poison. Pharnaces deemed it best for his own interest to submit to Pompey, and was accordingly confirmed in the possession of the Bosphorus, while Pontus was made a Roman province. Having thus, within a period of three years, put an end to the war in Asia Minor, dissolved the empires of Mithridates and Tigranes, and extended the Roman dominion to the frontiers of Parthia and Arabia, adding thereby to the revenues of the Commonwealth a larger amount of tribute than was derived from all its other territories

together, Pompey, after spending the winter of 691-2 at Ephesus, prepared to return to Italy, the greatest man in the Roman world.

323. Meanwhile events of a very extraordinary nature had been occurring at Rome. Besides Cicero, Cæsar, Crassus, and others whose names have been mentioned, a new political leader had appeared in the field. This was the famous Lucius Sergius Catilina, or, as the name is more frequently written, Catiline. He was a man of high patrician descent, somewhat older than Cicero and Pompey, and possessed of extraordinary strength both of mind and body, but regarded with public abhorrence on account of certain crimes which were laid to his charge. He had served under Sulla in his youth; and having successively filled the offices of quæstor, ædile, and prætor, naturally aspired to the crowning honour of the consulship. A charge of maladministration preferred against him as prætor, prevented his being a candidate in 688; and a general desire soon manifested itself among the leading citizens to keep him out of the consulship not only then, but for ever. In these circumstances, Catiline became the head of a new political party, consisting, it is said, of profligate men of ruined fortunes belonging to all classes of society. The precise aim of Catiline and his party is still a mystery in history; one saying, however, attributed to Catiline himself, casts some light upon it, and admirably represents the condition of the Roman Commonwealth at that period. 'I see,' he said, 'in the republic a head without a body, and a body without a head.' If we understand by the head the senate, and by the body the great mass of the Roman population, this saying expressed the truth; and the difference between the two great political parties which then divided the state may be said to have consisted in this, that the good men of the aristocratic party, such as Cicero, wished to reattach the head to the body, while it was the conviction of a large and increasing party, among whom Cæsar was prominent, that a new head, or, in other words, a new constitution, must be created to suit a body so altered and enlarged. Catiline evidently belonged to the latter party,

but his design was to bring about the new order of things by means of bloodshed and a reign of terror; and the accusations made against him by contemporary historians are such as, if true, show that his political efforts were the mere exhibitions of a demoralised and reckless personal energy.

324. The year 691 is an epoch in Roman history. Catiline had again stood for the consulship, and had been rejected. The successful candidates were Caius Antonius, a man of high rank, but of small abilities, and Cicero, who had just attained the legal age of forty-two, and who, being a *novus homo*, owed his election purely to the conviction which his fellow-citizens entertained that he, and he alone, was competent to counteract the lawless schemes of Catiline. The earlier months of Cicero's consulship were spent by him in the discharge of the ordinary duties of the office. Occasionally, when some measure of an innovative character was brought forward by Cæsar, or by any other of the popular party, he would exert all the power of his eloquence in defending the existing order of things. It seemed, in short, to be his ambition to guide the public mind in a calm, constitutional course, such as Pompey would approve.

325. From the beginning of his consulship, however, Cicero's attention had been chiefly occupied by the designs of his late fellow-candidate Catiline. Although a conspiracy, having for its end a total overthrow of the constitution, had been in existence for upwards of two years, and although, if we may believe the accounts which have come down to us, it was known that more than once it had been resolved by the conspirators to assassinate the consuls and other leading men, yet so defective was the law regarding treason, that nothing had been done to relieve the state from so imminent a danger. Cicero, therefore, had a double task to perform: he had to foster the conspiracy, so as to bring its criminality within the glare of public opinion; and while doing so, he had to take such precautions as would disarm it in the meantime, and enable him ultimately to crush it. Fortunately, he obtained the services of one of the conspirators, from whom he learned that emissaries of

Catiline had been sent into various parts of Italy, with a view to spread the conspiracy as widely as possible. Still nothing was done which could justify a summary exercise of power against the conspirators. The midsummer election of new consuls, however, having again arrived, and Catiline having again been disappointed, one leading conspirator was despatched into Etruria, another into Apulia, and a third into Picenum, while Catiline remained at Rome with the rest, to preside over the convulsion which was to be effected there, as the signal for the general rising throughout Italy. All this Cicero was apprised of; and judging that no time was now to be lost, he laid the whole matter before the senate. The senate commissioned him to take whatever steps he deemed most advisable. Instantly, throughout all Italy, the authorities were on the alert. Thwarted by the consul's activity, and not aware of the extent to which his schemes were known, Catiline ventured, on the 8th of November, to present himself in the senate, like a persecuted man conscious of innocence. Never was there such a storm of eloquent invective as that with which the consul assailed his audacious foe. In vain Catiline rose to reply; his voice was drowned by cries of indignation; and hurling forth a threat of parting defiance, he rushed from the house. That same night he set out for Etruria, where an army had already been raised by his partisan Caius Mallius, an old officer of Sulla. His accomplices remained behind, either because they did not see the necessity of absconding, or because they wished to attempt something desperate and decisive.

326. To oppose Catiline in the field, and to root out the remnants of the conspiracy within the city, were the duties which now devolved upon the consuls. Intrusting the former task to his colleague Antonius, Cicero reserved the latter for himself. He soon learned that, in accordance, probably, with instructions left by Catiline, a plan had been formed for a conflagration of the city, and a general massacre of the principal inhabitants, as soon as Catiline should appear at the gates. Fortunately, the conspirators had entered into treaty with certain transalpine Gauls, who had been sent to Rome by their countrymen the

Allobroges, to complain of the oppressions of the Roman officials in their territory, and from these Cicero obtained further information of the designs of the Catalinarian party. He instantly convened the senate, not, however, until four of those who had signed the treaty with the Allobroges had been apprehended—the two senators Publius Lentulus Sura and Caius Cethegus, and the two knights Lucius Statilius and Publius Gabinius. Thanks and applauses were showered upon the consul in the senate; and when, on the morning of the same day, he addressed the people in the Forum, and told them how Catiline and his accomplices had been plotting the ruin of the state, how they had designed to set fire to the city, but how, by the blessing of the gods inspiring him their consul with wisdom, this impious design had been frustrated, the air resounded with acclamations, and a thousand voices demanded vengeance on the conspirators.

327. Notwithstanding this apparent unanimity, it was difficult to decide what punishment should be inflicted on the conspirators. At a meeting of the senate, held on the 5th of December, for the consideration of this question, Junius Silanus, one of the consuls-elect, gave his vote for their summary execution; and after him the senators, one by one, to the same effect. At length Cæsar, who was now prætor-elect, rose and made a speech, in which he argued that, however detestable the conspiracy of Catiline was, yet to put the prisoners to death without a regular trial was both a violation of law and bad policy. 'Let their estates,' he said, 'be confiscated; let their persons be committed to strict custody in separate Italian cities; and let it be declared a crime ever to speak in their favour.' This speech of Cæsar, which was all the more courageous that he had himself been accused, along with Crassus, of being concerned in the conspiracy, produced a visible effect, and many of the senators wavered. At this juncture there rose up one whose words were always listened to with peculiar respect. This was Marcus Porcius Cato, commonly called Cato the younger, a great-grandson of Cato the censor, and possessed of the same sterling integrity for which his ancestor had been remarkable. Although little

more than thirty years of age, he had already filled the office of quæstor, and had been elected one of the tribunes for the following year. Austere and blameless in morals, and a Stoic in philosophy, it was his aim to carry the notion of abstract justice into all political affairs, and on no occasion to swerve from strict rule for the sake of adapting himself to circumstances. Such was the man who replied to Cæsar, and contended for the death of the prisoners; and the speeches of the two senators on this occasion exhibit them as they appeared through life —Cæsar, the man of generous temper, enlarged understanding, and daring courage; Cato, the man of inflexible honesty, strict rule, and somewhat narrow views. The speech of Cato decided the vote; and on the same evening the conspirators were strangled in a prison underground. Cicero witnessed their execution; and as, in the dusk of the evening, the pale consul emerged, muffled up in his toga, from the door of the prison where the deed of death had been performed, the people, who had been waiting outside, gathered round him overawed. '*Vixerunt!*'—'They have lived!'—said the consul, and walked on through the Forum. At first there was a silence, for such a deed had not taken place in Rome for a considerable time; but soon a shout arose, and a great crowd followed Cicero home. Women flocked to their doors, and to the roofs of the houses, holding torches, that they might see him as he passed; and all night long the city was full of rejoicings in honour of the good consul, 'the father of his country.'

328. A battle fought in Etruria between Catiline, at the head of 12,000 men, and the army of the Commonwealth, commanded by Petreius, the legate of Antonius, put an end to the conspiracy. Catiline died fighting bravely; and Cicero, on taking the oath required from the retiring consul, discarded the usual formula, 'I have kept the laws,' and substituted the words, 'I have saved the republic.'

329. The year 692 passed in mutual recriminations between the leaders of the senatorial and those of the popular party, Cato and others reproaching Cæsar as a secret Catiline, while Cæsar and his adherents lost no opportunity of

attacking the policy of Cicero. Meanwhile both parties were expecting with anxiety the return of Pompey with his army. Would Pompey act the part of a second Sulla, and establish a military tyranny? Or, if he should forbear from such an outrage on the liberties of his country, to which party would he lend the weight of his influence?

330. Pompey returned to Rome early in the year 693, not to act the part of a Sulla, but to enjoy a triumph more splendid than the capital had yet witnessed, and to resume his legitimate career as a political leader. It soon became evident, from the coldness with which he treated Cicero, and the slight acknowledgment which he made of his services in the affair of Catiline, that the conqueror of the East did not wish to confound himself with the politicians of the senatorial party. Nor was his disposition to coalesce with them increased by the conduct of Cato, who opposed the ratification of his measures in the East until they should have been examined and discussed individually. Had Cæsar been in Rome, therefore, it is probable that a political connection would instantly have been established between him and Pompey. Cæsar, however, was at this time actively employed in Spain, to the government of which he had been appointed on the expiry of his prætorship.

331. In June 694 Cæsar returned hastily to Rome, to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship of the following year. During his absence, the city had been the scene of what may literally be termed a confused squabble, in which Pompey, Cicero, Crassus, Cato, Clodius, Metellus Creticus, and Lucullus, had each been acting his respective part. The main subjects of dispute were the ratification of Pompey's eastern policy, and an agrarian law which had been brought forward under his auspices, for providing for his soldiers and the poor citizens out of the fruits of his recent victories. The appearance of Cæsar completely changed the aspect of affairs. Determined to establish some power in the state strong enough to fulfil the real functions of a government, he endeavoured to effect a coalition of all those whose interests or principles seemed to indicate the possibility of their political co-operation.

Such was the policy which dictated the formation of the famous coalition known by the name of the First Triumvirate. The popularity of Pompey, the wealth of Crassus, and the brain of Cæsar—what could resist such a combination? Its first effect was the election of Cæsar to the consulship. His colleague, Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, however, was an adherent of the senate, and a particularly obstinate and opinionative man.

332. Cæsar's consulship was a year of more vigorous government than Rome had experienced for a long time. Many disputes which had been long pending were settled, and many salutary laws passed for correcting abuses in the administration both of Italy and the provinces. The measures of Pompey were ratified, and his law for the colonisation of waste lands in Italy was adopted, and brought forward in an improved shape by Cæsar. This law was the occasion of a decided rupture between the consul and the senate. Repeatedly he pressed it upon their notice, and offered to modify it, so as to render it unexceptionable; a resolute opposition was the only answer. Cæsar's voice rose above the tumult. 'If the senate will not co-operate with the consul, the consul will throw himself upon the people, and the Commonwealth shall be administered without the help of the senate.' Such was in effect the announcement of Cæsar to the senate; and during the remainder of his consulship he was true to his word, never once convening that body, but governing through the people alone. The senate, regretting their folly when it was too late, endeavoured to arrest the progress of the agrarian law in the popular assembly, by employing the colleague of Cæsar to oppose it. Bibulus appeared once or twice in the Forum, but met with such a rough reception, that he at length shut himself up in his own house, and did not step abroad for eight months, during which he did nothing but send out protests. The Triumvirate laughed at Bibulus; his protests, pasted on the walls, amused the city; and the young Roman wits, sending letters to each other, used to date them, 'In the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.' Cæsar was particularly anxious to gain Cicero; and it was only after his attempts for this purpose

had failed, that he consented to patronise Clodius, who was at this time desirous of presenting himself as a candidate for the tribuneship, with the avowed intention of calling Cicero to account for his conduct in the affair of Catiline. As Clodius was a patrician, it was necessary for his purpose that he should be adopted into some plebeian family; and as such an adoption was unprecedented, there was little chance that it would be permitted. The influence of the Triumvirate, however, was all-powerful; and Clodius had the satisfaction of being elected to an office where he could gratify his animosity against Cicero. The influence of the Triumvirate was also visible in the election of the new consuls—Calpurnius Piso, one of them, having recently become Cæsar's father-in-law; and Aulus Gabinius, the other, being a creature of Pompey.

333. On the expiry of Cæsar's consulship, the senate showed their resentment by decreeing to him the care of the woods and roads as his proconsular province. This was an exceedingly injudicious act, for the people instantly made their leader ample compensation, by voting him the province of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years. Fearful of still farther grants by the people, the senate tried to repair their blunder, by not only confirming the vote, but also adding Transalpine Gaul to Cæsar's government. Thus had this great man obtained what was probably the object of his wishes, and what at all events qualified him for the part which he was afterwards to act—a military command over a large tract of country conveniently near to Italy. Meanwhile, to strengthen his connection with Pompey, he gave him his only child, Julia, in marriage, although she was extremely young, and Pompey, who had already been married three times, was nearly fifty years of age.

334. At the time of Cæsar's departure for Gaul, the portions of that country subject to the Romans were Gallia Cisalpina, which had been thoroughly Romanised, and Gallia Ulterior, including the modern provinces of East Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. The rest, with the exception of such districts as bordered the Roman frontier, was an unknown land, overspread by a population of the

great Celtic race, divided into numerous tribes distinguished from each other by characteristic differences. In some parts a hereditary system of clanship prevailed; in others the governing power was in the hands of the Druids, a class of priests not hereditary, like the Brahmins of India, but drawn from the general mass of the population. The most restless and warlike of the Gauls were those who bordered on the Rhine, and were subject to the attacks of the Germans, between whom and the Gauls that river formed the boundary. Already the Germans had made incursions upon the Celtic territories; and it is probable that, had not the Romans at this time extended their empire over these territories, the Germans would have soon overrun them. Gaul, in short, was in a condition which rendered it a suitable theatre of action for the genius of Cæsar. To abridge his own history of his Gallic campaigns would be impossible: suffice it to say, that before the five years of his command had expired, he had cleared the country of the invading Germans; penetrated the whole mass of the Celtic population, to the shores of the English Channel, with a knowledge of the Roman name; and even crossed the Channel, and invaded the island of Britain, the refuge of the Gaulish patriots who opposed his progress, and the great seat of the Druidical religion. This last exploit took place in the fourth year of his command, in the year of the city 699, or B.C. 55; and few events connected with Cæsar's Gallic campaigns appear to have created a more lively interest at Rome than his visit to this remote and barbarous island, regarding which we are told that many denied its existence, and 'affirmed its name, and all the accounts about it, to be pure invention.' Cæsar's Gallic campaigns were the great topic of conversation at home during his absence; and as the news arrived of victory after victory, gained by him over Helvetii, Suevi, Belgæ, Nervii, and other nations whose names had never been heard before, public enthusiasm in his favour rose higher and higher. Anecdotes of his bravery, and of the presence of mind which he displayed on difficult occasions were repeated in all circles; and every one wondered how this man, who 'was of a spare habit, had a white and soft

skin, and was subject to headaches and epileptic fits,' could endure such fatigues, and lead a life of such incessant activity.

335. Regularly corresponding with his friends, and returning every winter to Cisalpine Gaul, where he employed the intervals between his campaigns in his business as a provincial governor, Cæsar had never lost sight of what was occurring at Rome. The principal subject of excitement during his absence was the persecution of Cicero by Clodius. In conjunction with the consuls of the year 696, Clodius had stirred up the feelings of the people against Cicero by incessant attacks upon his conduct during his consulship; and at length having proposed a law whose purpose was to condemn Cicero on a charge of having put Roman citizens to death contrary to law, he gained his point by compelling the orator to seek safety in exile. Amid the regrets of the senatorial party, and of all who knew him intimately, Cicero retired into Macedonia, where one of his friends was quæstor. His various country villas, and his house in Rome, were burnt after his departure, and his goods put up to auction. No sooner had this aspiring tribune got rid of Cicero, than he contrived in a similar manner to free himself from Cato, by sending him to Cyprus to superintend the execution of a decree deposing the king of that island, and converting it from an appanage of Egypt into a Roman province. Cicero and Cato once removed, Clodius began to propose the most violent measures, and to defy Pompey himself. It became at length necessary to recall Cicero; and to effect this, a strong party was formed, with Pompey at its head. A motion for his recall was brought forward on the 1st of January 697. Clodius, whose tribuneship had now expired, offered a most determined opposition, committing outrages against life and property which could not occur in any community except during a period of utter anarchy. To such a condition, however, was Rome reduced, that it was deemed legitimate to meet force with force; and as Clodius perambulated the streets at the head of one mob, Milo, one of the tribunes of the year, supported the opposite interest by putting himself at

the head of another. At length, after several months of confusion and riot, Pompey and his friends prevailed; and on the 4th of August Cicero was recalled by a unanimous vote of the people. Cicero, who, during his absence from Rome, had been in a state of the utmost despondency, returned in triumph, and immediately showed his gratitude to Pompey by attaching himself closely to his interests.

336. Cicero pleading causes and making speeches, in which his own conduct during his consulship was always a prominent topic; Pompey living idly on his past reputation; Crassus doing nothing; Cato propounding his rigid maxims, and co-operating with nobody; Clodius and Milo acting like two madmen at large amid a population of upwards of two millions—such was the condition of Rome in the year 698. Meanwhile Providence was training up, amid the rains and storms of a northern climate, and the fatigues of a cruel warfare, the man who was to put an end to this frightful anarchy. In the maturity of his age and experience, instructed in all the science of his time, an ardent lover of literature, and gifted with an intellect at once massive and versatile; bold, rapid, and energetic in all his actions, military or political; and finally, notwithstanding the deplorable horrors of his Gallic campaigns, possessed of a chivalrous and generous temper, which all his contemporaries acknowledged, and which rendered him incapable of such abuses of power as those of which Marius and Sulla had been guilty—there did not then exist a man so fit to wield the supremacy of the Roman world as Cæsar.

337. Cæsar's return, however, was to be postponed for some years. On his arrival in Cisalpine Gaul, to spend the third winter of his command, Pompey, Crassus, and a great number of powerful citizens had visited him at Lucca, on the borders of Italy. Here, probably, the Triumvirate had arranged their plans for the future. At all events, Pompey and Crassus procured their election to the consulship of the following year (699); and their conduct in office was evidently directed to the object of perpetuating their own influence, and that of their absent colleague. One of their partisans, a tribune of the year, named Tre-

bonius, proposed a bill to the effect that, when their consulship expired, they should have the provinces of Spain and Syria allotted to them for five years. Notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Cato, and other defenders of the constitution, the motion was carried; and it was decided by lot that Crassus should have Syria, and Pompey Spain. A bill was then proposed by Pompey, extending Cæsar's Gallic command for five years. Cicero supported it, and although Cato protested against it, it was carried.

338. The fifth year of Cæsar's command, or that following the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, was spent in various exploits in Gaul, and in a second visit to Britain, during which he fought several battles, and penetrated as far as the Thames, but did not succeed in producing any permanent impression. In his sixth campaign he crossed the Rhine a second time, and opposed his disciplined troops of Romans and Gauls to the irregular valour of the large-limbed Germans. The seventh campaign was perhaps the most severe of all, being employed in suppressing a formidable insurrection of the combined Gallic nations, under a chief named Vercingetorix. Its result, however, was so decisive, that after some military operations in the following year, Cæsar deemed the conquest of Gaul complete, and began to lay aside the character of a military invader, and assume that of a considerate governor. By great liberality to the chiefs, by imposing moderate taxes, and by enlisting bodies of the natives in the Roman service, he disposed the Gallic populations to acquiesce in the fate which had subjected them to the Roman yoke. Accordingly, in the ninth year of his command, or the year 704, Cæsar enjoyed a cessation from his long career of military activity, and was at liberty to meditate what part he should adopt when he should be summoned by the senate to lay aside his more than kingly power, dismiss his army of Romans, Gauls, and Germans, and become once more a private citizen.

339. Meanwhile the condition of affairs at Rome was becoming worse. Crassus had set out for his province, bent on acquiring additional wealth and glory by extending the Roman dominion farther into Asia. Having un-

dertaken an imprudent expedition into Parthia, he perished there with the greater part of his army; and the consequence of his rashness was, that for several years Syria and other portions of the Roman dominion in Asia were harassed in retaliation by the Parthians. Pompey ought, in accordance with custom, to have set out for Spain on the expiry of his consulship; but availing himself of a previous commission, which had been conferred on him on the motion of Cicero, investing him with the supreme control of the markets and corn rents throughout the empire for five years, he continued to reside in Italy, administering his province by deputies. His object, apparently, was to obtain the dictatorship, when, as appeared inevitable, the public necessities should compel the restitution of that office. Himself at the centre of administration, and his colleague, Cæsar, acting as the great general of the republic under him—this was the prospect with which Pompey flattered his imagination. Unfortunately an event now occurred which completely severed the tie between him and Cæsar. This was the death, amid the regrets of all Rome, of his wife Julia, Cæsar's only and much-beloved daughter.

340. For eight years the only real government which the Commonwealth had possessed had been the self-constituted one of the Triumvirate. Even of this imperfect substitute for a government it was now deprived, by the death of Crassus and the breach of the connection between Pompey and Cæsar. Probably never before had there been such a low condition of public morality in Rome as was exhibited during the years 700 and 701. Well might Cato groan over the corruption and avarice of the age, and characterise it as an age in which it was believed 'that all that was said about the punishments allotted to the wicked in the infernal regions was mere fiction.' Shameless bribery by the candidates for office; extortion of fees by the judges from the poor provincials, who had come to prosecute some powerful citizen for maladministration; the open acquittal of notorious criminals, who had bribed their judges; forgery of decrees of the senate for nefarious purposes; secret assassinations; perpetual street brawls between bands of

gladiators, led by riotous nobles like Clodius and Milo—such were the symptoms of the vile condition of Roman society at this period. There were few exceptions to the general corruption. Pompey, naturally an amiable and just man, of great abilities and experience, but without that grandeur of soul which a true statesman requires; Cicero, a man of the purest character, but weak and compliant; Cato, stern, unyielding, and sarcastic, but too formal and narrow to be the man of his age—these, with some individuals of less note, made up the 'ten good men in the city.' The consuls of the year 701 were rogues; and as Milo was a candidate for the consulship, and Clodius for one of the prætorships of the following year, its prospects were little better. Such was the distraction of the public mind, that the elections were postponed till after the year 702 had begun. At length, after many days of uproar and riot, a piece of good fortune befell the city in the murder of Clodius by Milo and his companions, who chanced to meet him, attended by a few friends, on the high road at some distance from Rome. In their fury, the Clodian mob brought the corpse of their leader into the senate-house, and burned it and the building together. To put an end to the confusion, the senate adopted a course which had for some time been a subject of earnest meditation among the leading politicians, and nominated Pompey sole consul, with full power to attempt a reform of the Commonwealth.

341. Pompey was now in the proudest position which a Roman citizen could occupy. His conduct in this position was that of a man whose intentions are good, but whose genius is unequal to the task he is called to perform. Two laws were passed—one against sedition and violence, the other against bribery; and under these Milo was tried and banished. For the better administration of the provinces, such of the senators of consular and prætorian rank as had avoided provincial commands before, were now obliged to give their services in that capacity. By this law Cicero was compelled to leave Rome, much against his will. The government assigned to him was that of Cilicia; and his administration was so excellent,

that that province, in the year 703, was probably the most tranquil portion of the Roman dominions. So far Pompey's measures were beneficial; but during the latter part of his consulship he became more lax and negligent, making it his aim rather to lead a strong party than to persist in his reformation of the state. Withdrawing from the people, he constituted himself the declared chief of the aristocratic party. This policy was probably confirmed by a fifth marriage, which he contracted not long after Julia's death, with Cornelia, the daughter of Quintus Metellus Scipio. After exercising the consulship alone for six months, he caused his father-in-law to be elected as his colleague, and abandoning his reforming policy, entered eagerly into schemes which the adversaries of Cæsar were proposing for destroying that general's influence. By prolonging his command in Spain for a second period of five years, Pompey had secured for himself a continuation of political power until the year 709; and as Cæsar's Gallic commission would expire in 705, there was the prospect of several years during which he would be a provincial governor, while Cæsar would be in the condition of an ordinary citizen.

342. Cæsar's position was a difficult one. His command in Gaul was drawing to a close; what line of conduct was he to adopt when he should be called on to resign? On the one hand, he might retire into private life, and enjoy a literary leisure after his laborious campaigns; but was such a course, after all, the true and becoming one for a man like him to follow at such a crisis? On the other hand, what political station did the Commonwealth afford sufficient to give scope to one who had been accustomed for eight years to absolute power over what was in itself an empire? This question Cæsar answered to himself by resolving to become a candidate for the consulship of the year succeeding that in which he should quit Gaul. A difficulty, however, had to be overcome—that, namely, occasioned by the law which obliged every candidate for the consulship to sue for it as a private citizen. If he were to obey this law, he must resign his command, and disband his army before he could solicit a single vote; and it was a matter of certainty, that

if the conqueror of Gaul did thus present himself as a private citizen in the Forum, a shower of prosecutions would be his welcome in the first week, and a decree of exile his reward in the next. To obtain leave, therefore, to sue for the consulship in his absence, and still retaining his command, was Cæsar's object. His partisans, especially a tribune of the year 703, named Curio, who had formerly been of the senatorial party, but had been bought over, exerted themselves vigorously in his behalf. Their plea was, that it was unfair to deprive Cæsar of his command, while his rival, Pompey, retained his; and that, therefore, either Cæsar should be permitted to sue for the consulship before resigning his command, or both should resign at once. At length, in January 704, the decisive step was taken, and the senate decreed that Cæsar should resign his command against a certain day, on pain of being treated as a public enemy. In vain did Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius Longinus, two of the tribunes of the year, attempt to exercise their constitutional right of opposing a negative to the decree; the consuls were ready to defend the decree by force. Antonius, Cassius, Curio, and others, instantly fled from Rome in the disguise of slaves, and hastened to join Cæsar in Cisalpine Gaul.

343. After the departure of the tribunes, the all-absorbing feeling at Rome was one of vague wonder what Cæsar would do. Some attempts to effect a compromise were made by Cicero, who had recently returned from Cilicia, and by other well-meaning citizens; but the aristocratic party were eager for war, and the senate began to prepare for the worst. Italy was divided into districts, over each of which was appointed a superintendent; governors were nominated for the various provinces, the two Gauls among the rest; and Pompey was invested with unlimited powers for the defence of the republic. Although Pompey had already been authorised to levy troops, there was no efficient force yet at the command of the senate; Pompey, however, was not disconcerted by this. 'Let me but stamp my foot,' had been his constant expression to those who seemed to blame his inactivity, 'and horse and

foot will spring up out of the earth.' Now that the proper time, as he thought, had arrived, he commenced his levy in earnest. In three months he would have a splendid army, with which to oppose Cæsar when he should break up his winter quarters and enter Italy.

344. Cæsar was not the man to delay three months on such an occasion. Stationed at Ravenna, close on the frontier of Cisalpine Gaul, with only one legion of 5000 foot and 300 horse, he had there learnt the final rejection of his suit by the senate, and the abrupt flight of his partisans, Antonius, Cassius, and Curio. His resolution was instantly taken. Sending orders to his other legions, which were then in Transalpine Gaul, to come with all haste to his assistance, he set out at once for Rome with the single legion. 'When,' says Plutarch, 'he came to the stream Rubicon, which divided Cisalpine Gaul from Italy, and began to calculate as he approached nearer to the danger, and was agitated by the magnitude of the hazard, he checked his speed, and halting, he considered about many things with himself in silence, his mind moving from one side to the other. At last, with a kind of passion, as if he were throwing himself out of reflection into the future, and uttering what is the usual expression of men entering on desperate enterprises, "Let the die be cast," he hurried across the rivulet.' At Rome all was alarm and confusion, for no one had calculated on so sudden a movement on the part of Cæsar. 'You had better stamp your foot now, Pompey,' said a blunt senator named Favonius. It was deemed best to abandon Rome, and retreat towards the south of Italy. Accordingly, issuing a proclamation that all who remained in the city should be accounted partisans of Cæsar, Pompey, the two consuls, and the great body of the senators, including Cicero and Cato, retired hastily to Capua, from which they dispersed themselves throughout the peninsula, to forward the levies and stir up the people in the various districts.

345. Thus the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey had fairly begun. Originating, apparently, in a contest between two men relative to their personal schemes, it was yet no mere personal struggle. It was a struggle between

the interests of general civilisation and the forms of the Roman constitution—Cæsar representing the one, Pompey the other. It is interesting to observe how different parties ranged themselves in this great contest. With Pompey went all those who desired the permanence of the existing forms, whether men like Cato, who took up arms from a strict sense of duty, or men like Cicero, who, although they 'thought any concession preferable to a civil war,' were yet pledged by their past conduct to adhere to Pompey. Perhaps the most enthusiastic of his partisans were the young aristocracy. The great mass of the Italian population, and especially the opulent classes, were indifferent to either side, seeing nothing but the horrors which the war was to bring upon the country. In the south of Italy, however, the presence of Pompey and the other senators gave them an advantage. In Spain there were seven legions belonging to Pompey; and in the East, where he had earned his greatest glory, his cause would naturally be preferred to that of his opponent. Cæsar, on the other side, had with him the bulk of the population of Rome; all the adventurous and dissatisfied men of Italy; as well as the good wishes of reflecting men throughout the provinces, who recognised in him the champion of liberal principles, from whom the provinces might one day receive the envied boon of Roman citizenship, which his predecessors had so long sought for the Italians, at a time when Pompey's predecessors had refused it.

346. Advancing through Umbria and Picenum, along the coast of the Adriatic, Cæsar hastened to reach the scene of action. He began hostilities by laying siege to Corfinium, which shortly surrendered; and he showed a noble example by dismissing his opponents unhurt. For this generosity, Cicero, who was still with Pompey, sent him a letter of thanks. Cæsar's reply is remarkable. 'You judge rightly of me,' he says, 'that nothing is farther removed from me than cruelty; nor does it at all move me, that those who were dismissed by me are said to have gone away to renew the war against me, for I desire nothing more than that I may always act like myself, and they like themselves.'

347. Pompey had shut himself up in Brundusium; but being attacked here, he embarked his forces, and set sail for Illyricum on the 17th of March, leaving Cæsar master of Italy. The scene of action was now to be transferred to the provinces. Unable, from the want of shipping, to follow Pompey, Cæsar resolved to proceed to Spain, where the strength of his rival's party lay. Before departing, however, he paid a short visit to Rome, where he acted as absolute master, breaking open the treasury, and appropriating the public money, which his opponents, in their haste, had left untouched.

348. Cæsar's generalship and humane policy were triumphant in Spain. Pompey's lieutenants were unable to prevent their men from deserting in hundreds; and after a war of several months, the whole peninsula cheerfully submitted to Cæsar. Returning through Gaul, and reducing the town of Marseilles on his way, he re-entered Rome in the capacity of dictator, having been invested by his adherents with that title, that he might preside at the elections for the following year. After having been elected consul along with one of his adherents, he resigned the dictatorship, and passing a number of judicious laws which the exigencies of the time required, hastened again into the field. The West pertained to Cæsar, but Pompey still remained master of the East; the battle, therefore, was but half fought.

349. Pompey had employed the year which had elapsed since his flight from Italy in raising supplies of men, money, and provisions, from all parts of the East—Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. With a large army thus assembled, he had spent the winter at Thessalonica. Here the senators who were with him, numbering in all about two hundred, had met formally, and passed a decree continuing him in his command, and the consuls and other magistrates in their offices. A splendid fleet, under the command of Cæsar's old colleague and personal enemy, Bibulus, guarded the mouth of the Adriatic; and as Cæsar had hardly any ships, he could only reach Illyricum by a circuitous land march, which would leave Italy exposed. Thus reasoned Pompey and his counsellors in their winter

quarters at Thessalonica. Suddenly all their calculations were upset by the news that Cæsar had landed in Epirus, and was busily engaged in the neighbourhood of Dyrrhachium. Committing his fortunes to a bold hazard, the dauntless man had embarked a force of 20,000 men and 600 horse in an insignificant fleet, and eluding Bibulus, had crossed the Adriatic with as little fear as he had formerly crossed the Rubicon. Breaking up his winter quarters, Pompey hastened to oppose him; and for some time the two armies manœuvred in the vicinity of Dyrrhachium. After his troops had, in consequence of want of supplies, undergone labours and hardships which only veteran soldiers could have borne, Cæsar desisted from his operations at Dyrrhachium, and, to the surprise of all, marched eastward towards Thessaly, traversing a country where he had not a single friend, and leaving Pompey between him and Italy. The action seemed that of a madman, and Pompey pursued him with increased courage. Before Pompey entered Thessaly, however, Cæsar had recruited the vigour of his men; and when, in the beginning of August, the two armies encamped on the plain of Pharsalia, the disparity between them did not appear so great, notwithstanding that the army of Pompey numbered 45,000 men, a sixth part of whom were cavalry, while that of Cæsar numbered no more than 22,000 infantry, with 1000 cavalry. On the 10th of August was fought the celebrated battle of Pharsalia, which decided the fate of the world. Cæsar's generalship and the bravery of his veterans gained the day, and Pompey's army was totally routed. Adhering to his generous policy, Cæsar granted to all his prisoners their lives and liberty, and none perished except in the heat of the action or the flight.

350. Many of the senators of Pompey's party were taken in the battle, or surrendered to Cæsar immediately after it. Others made their escape, dispersing in various directions, and spreading the rumour of Cæsar's victory. Cato and Cicero had been left at Dyrrhachium; hither, therefore, fled many of the fugitives. Passing over to Corcyra, they held a conference with Pompey's son and the officers of the fleet relative to their future plans. Nothing, however, was determined; and after the council, each followed

his own inclinations—some, with Cato, resolving to continue the war; others, with Cicero, hastening back to Italy, where they knew their past conduct would be forgiven by Cæsar. The fate of Pompey was melancholy. Fleeing after the battle, with about thirty followers, to the sea-coast at Larissa, he hastily embarked, and proceeding to Lesbos, where his wife Cornelia was residing, took her on board. For some time he remained in the Ægean Sea, uncertain whither he should go. At length he resolved to appeal to the gratitude of young Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose father he had been instrumental in restoring to his throne, after his subjects had expelled him. Ptolemy, still a minor, was then at war with his sister Cleopatra, who had been left his joint heir in the sovereignty, but whom he wished to dethrone. He and his counsellors, therefore, were considerably embarrassed when Pompey, arriving with a few ships off Pelusium, requested permission to land. In order to secure the favour of Cæsar, it was deemed best to invite Pompey to come on shore, and then murder him. A small boat was accordingly sent off to his ship, with a few men on board, one of whom was a Roman centurion named Septimius, who had formerly been in his service, but was now in that of Ptolemy. With some hesitation Pompey descended into the boat with his freedman and two other attendants. When the boat approached the beach, where a number of men were drawn up, as if to welcome him, Pompey, who had been reading a paper, rose to step ashore. At that moment Septimius stabbed him in the back; the Egyptians in the boat followed his example; and their victim, covering his face with his toga, fell dead. The appalling scene was witnessed by Cornelia, who stood on the deck of the ship which her unfortunate husband had just left. The vessels instantly weighed anchor, and set sail. Pompey's head was cut off, and preserved as a gift for Cæsar; his body, which was left exposed on the shore, was burnt by his faithful freedman and a Roman soldier who chanced to pass the spot. Thus perished Pompeius Magnus, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, on the 28th of April 707.

351. Cæsar, who had been following in close pursuit,

had no sooner entered Alexandria with a small force, than the head of Pompey was presented to him as a peace-offering from Ptolemy. As he gazed on the head of his old friend, afterwards his enemy, and once his son-in-law, the husband of his lamented Julia, Cæsar burst into tears. Ptolemy's treachery gained him no favour; and Cæsar, in the exercise of his supremacy as the head of the Roman world, resolved to settle the affairs of Egypt, by compelling the brother to acknowledge his sister's rights. His determination was no doubt influenced by the charms of Cleopatra, who, hearing that Cæsar was in Alexandria, had caused herself, it is said, to be conveyed into his presence wrapped up in a mattress, so as to elude her brother's soldiers. This interference, however, in the affairs of Egypt had nearly proved fatal to him, for Ptolemy's ministers roused such a strong public feeling, that Cæsar found himself blockaded in the king's palace, where he had taken up his residence. Dismissing Ptolemy at the request of the insurgents, Cæsar defended himself and Cleopatra until assistance arrived; and ultimately compelled the Egyptians to accept his arrangement, substituting Cleopatra's younger brother as her fellow-sovereign in the room of the elder, who had been drowned in the Nile when fleeing from the army which came to Cæsar's rescue.

352. From Alexandria, Cæsar hastened into the north-east of Asia Minor, where Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, was trying to recover his father's dominions. One battle ended the war; and it was on this occasion that, sending an announcement of the result to Rome, he penned the famous despatch, '*Veni, vidi, vici!*'—'I came, I saw, I conquered!' From Asia he set out for Rome.

353. The wrecks of Pompey's party had been driven into the south-west corner of the Mediterranean, where they occupied the African coast and the opposite shores of Spain. Resolved not to rest until he had established his power in every part of the world, Cæsar remained in Rome no longer than was necessary to restore order in Italy, which had been thrown into confusion during his absence by the conduct of his lieutenant, Marcus Antonius. Using his authority as dictator, which title had been again conferred

on him during his absence, with the power of retaining it throughout the year 707, he passed many measures of a healing nature; and having caused himself to be elected consul for the following year, along with one of his officers, Æmilius Lepidus, he embarked for Africa. Pompey's father-in-law, Scipio, commanded the Pompeian forces in Africa; and to strengthen his cause, he had concluded an alliance with Juba, king of Numidia. After a campaign of several months, a battle was fought between Cæsar and the armies of Scipio and Juba at Thapsus. Cæsar was victorious; hundreds, as usual, submitted to him after the engagement; Juba and Petreius, one of the Pompeian generals, killed each other in despair; the others dispersed themselves, and met with various fates. Cato, perceiving the ruin of the cause to which he had attached his hopes, committed suicide. His death distressed Cæsar, who had been particularly anxious to save his life.

354. Leaving Africa completely subdued, and having appointed the celebrated historian Caius Sallustius governor of Numidia, which had been reduced to a Roman province, Cæsar returned to Rome in July 708. He was greeted with honours and rejoicings of the most extravagant description. The dictatorship for ten years, and the censorship for three, were decreed to him, and his statue was ordered to be erected in the Capitol, with the inscription engraved on it, 'To Cæsar, the demigod.' In one month he enjoyed four triumphs—the first over Gaul, the second over Egypt, the third over Pharnaces of Pontus, and the fourth over Juba of Numidia. The splendour of these triumphs, and the amount of wealth exhibited in them in gold, jewels, crowns, and other articles, were the astonishment of Rome. Public feasts, pageants, and shows of wild beasts followed; and largesses of corn, oil, wine, and money were distributed amongst the citizens. To his troops Cæsar gave rewards at the rate of 20,000 sesterces, or about £180, to each private soldier; he took care, however, in assigning them lands, to distribute them over the empire in such a manner as to cause as little disturbance of existing rights as possible. Never, in short, had Rome presented such a scene of excitement and prosperity as on the return of Cæsar

from Africa; thousands of strangers from distant parts of the world thronged the streets; and in Cæsar's house might be seen, amid a group of foreign princes, Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, her brother Ptolemy, and her infant son Cæsarion.

355. While in this manner fulfilling the expectations of the Romans, and gratifying their passion for magnificent shows, Cæsar did not forget the more important duties, for the performance of which he had been raised so high among mankind. His reforms, for the greater part, were practical and immediate, not constitutional—as if he had little faith in the utility of sudden modifications of the form of government according to any particular model. By a strict exercise of his powers as censor, he reduced the number of citizens who received corn from the public from 320,000 to 150,000; he distributed about 80,000 poor citizens over the world in colonies, rebuilding Carthage and Corinth; he restored to the franchise the descendants of those whom Sulla had proscribed; and he passed various regulations for the relief of debtors, disappointing, however, many revolutionists, who had expected a total abolition of existing debts. While governor of Gaul, he had used his privileges to confer the freedom of Rome on hundreds of individuals living beyond the Italian frontier; and now, in pursuance of the same policy, he bestowed the franchise on great numbers of his Gaulish and Spanish followers. On all practitioners of physic, literary men, and professors of the liberal arts, residing in the capital, he conferred the rights of citizenship, to render their position more agreeable and convenient. He confined the judicial power to the senatorial and equestrian order, and compelled a much more strict administration of justice than Rome had long known. The senate he increased to 900 members; and under him the elevation of a person to the senatorial rank resembled the modern gift of a peerage. Many of the new senators were Gauls, or other foreigners. He increased the number of the prætors to sixteen, and that of the quæstors to forty; and, to check the arbitrary power of provincial governors, he limited the duration of provincial commands to two years. Many of the appointments to public offices he retained in his own hands; others he controlled, by nomi-

nating to the people such candidates as he wished to be elected. In short, Cæsar, although conforming in appearance to all constitutional modes of procedure, was absolute monarch of the Roman world, carrying what measures, and effecting what changes, he pleased.

356. One of his most important and useful acts was his celebrated reformation of the calendar. The Roman year had hitherto been the lunar one, consisting properly of 354 days 8 hours 48 minutes 36 seconds, but fixed by the Romans, for the sake of the whole number, at 355 days. As the true or solar year consists of 365 days 5 hours 49 minutes, the discrepancy amounted to 10 days 5 hours 49 minutes every year; to make up for which it had been the custom to insert, or, as it was called, *intercalate*, every second year an additional month, consisting alternately of 22 and 23 days. This correction, however, was too large; for it amounted to the addition of 45 days every four years, whereas only 40 days 23 hours 3 minutes were required. This essential error in the Roman mode of computation, together with the arbitrary manner in which the priests, to whom the business of intercalation was intrusted, had exercised their office, had produced such confusion, that in Cæsar's time the year was upwards of two months in advance; in other words, the battle of Pharsalia, dated the 10th of August 706, really happened at that time of the year which we would call the beginning of June. To remedy this, Cæsar, after consulting the ablest astronomers and mathematicians then living, ordered that sixty-seven additional days should be inserted in the year 708, then current, so as to bring it back to the true point; and that in future the computation should be by the solar year, divided into twelve months of arbitrary length, making in all 365 days, with the addition of another day in February every fourth year, to make up for the odd hours and minutes. By this arrangement order was restored to the calendar; it involved, however, an error of about 11 minutes every year, arising from estimating the solar year at 365 days 6 hours, instead of 365 days 5 hours 49 minutes, and in the course of centuries another correction became necessary.

357. Cæsar's career as a legislator suffered an interruption in the beginning of 709, when he departed for Spain, to crush the last relics of the rival party, there gathered together under Pompey's two sons, Cneius and Pompey. The campaign was a severe one; but Cæsar was victorious, and the elder Pompey was killed. Fresh honours awaited the hero on his return in October 709—the perpetual dictatorship and censorship; the title of Imperator, in a supreme and unusual sense; decrees of statues to his memory in all public places; the right of constantly wearing a laurel crown; and other honorary distinctions without number. In the whole history of the world, there is probably no other instance of a man raised to such a height of acknowledged greatness as that which Cæsar occupied during this and the five following months, which were the last of his life. Yet, while flattered by all, and while wielding the enormous power which lay in his hands, Cæsar, if we may judge from the accounts which have reached us, was melancholy and unhappy. 'It has often reached my ears,' says Cicero, addressing him in one of his speeches, 'that it is a saying commonly in your mouth that you have lived long enough for yourself.' The conqueror of the world was doubtless oppressed with the conviction that his power rested on the fickle foundation of popular applause, and that, being an object of envy to men who had been less successful in their career, he might any day be the victim of a malignant and senseless conspiracy.

358. Being a lover of science, and one of the purest and most nervous writers of the Latin language, all literary and scientific merit found a friend and patron in Cæsar. Among his contemporaries were many men of great abilities. Besides Cicero, whose literary activity was indefatigable, there were numerous public men who took an interest in literature, and laid claim to the literary character, taking pains to write well, and constituting what may be called a Ciceronian school. Of the more professed authors, the most celebrated were Caius Sallustius, the historian of the Jugurthine war and the Catilinarian conspiracy; Cor-

nelius Nepos, a writer of biography; Marcus Terentius Varro, distinguished for his immense and miscellaneous erudition, and on that account employed by Cæsar during his dictatorship to collect a library of Greek and Roman authors, which he intended to institute for the use of the public; and the poets Titus Lucretius Carus, Decimus Laberius, Caius Licinius Calvus, and Caius Valerius Catullus. Lucretius was a poet of great genius, although the nature of his works, which are chiefly didactic expositions of the Epicurean philosophy, has been unfavourable to his reputation. Catullus is pronounced by competent judges to be the finest poet, in the true sense of the word, that Rome ever had: his lyrical pieces, of which only a few remain, are inimitably sweet and natural, but tainted with the profligacy of the times. Virgil and Horace were considerably younger than Catullus; and although both were alive at the time with which we are now concerned—the former being about twenty-five, and the latter about twenty years of age—they belong, as poets, rather to the succeeding age.

359. After his return from Spain, Cæsar, to whom activity was a necessity of existence, began to entertain a number of schemes, in the accomplishment of which he wished to spend the remainder of his life. Besides several temples, a great theatre, and other architectural ornaments for the city, he planned various gigantic public works. New cities were to be founded on convenient sites; the Isthmus of Corinth was to be cut through; the Pontine marshes were to be drained by a great canal, which was to serve also as a road for ships to the city, and so supersede the port of Ostia; an accurate survey was to be taken, and a map prepared of the whole Roman empire; and lastly, to omit minor schemes, the enormous body of the Roman laws was to be carefully condensed. A grand military idea likewise engaged Cæsar's thoughts—the extension of the Roman empire towards India, and the conquest of that immense tract of barbarian territory which lay between the Black Sea and Gaul.

360. In the midst of these plans and aspirations the

life of this great man was cut short by a conspiracy. The year 710 had begun; Cæsar, still dictator, had caused himself to be elected a fifth time to the consulship, along with Mark Antony, and was making preparations for his Eastern expedition when the conspiracy was formed. That which immediately occasioned the plot appears to have been some manifestations on the part of Cæsar to exchange his title of dictator for the unpopular one of king. The conspirators numbered about sixty, some of them old friends of his own, others adherents of Pompey, whom Cæsar had pardoned and promoted. The ringleader and inventor of the plot was Caius Cassius, a lean, stern, and easily offended man, who had been the lieutenant of Crassus in the Parthian war, had afterwards served under Pompey, but on Pompey's defeat, had surrendered himself to Cæsar, and been well received. The first to whom this treacherous wretch broached his views was his brother-in-law, Cato's nephew, Marcus Junius Brutus, who had fought on Pompey's side at Pharsalia, but was now one of Cæsar's dearest friends, and had just been raised to the city prætorship. Brutus was a man of noble nature, resembling his uncle Cato in many points, but softer and more amiable. His motives in joining the conspiracy were purely patriotic. Cæsar he admired, and even loved; and if Cæsar ever resigned his power, he knew it would be into his hands; but as a Roman, and, above all, as a descendant of the great Brutus, he thought himself bound to show an example of opposition to despotic authority. Cassius and Brutus once agreed, others were sounded and admitted into the conspiracy.

361. The conspirators resolved to assassinate Cæsar in the senate house, on the ides (the 15th) of March, on which day it was rumoured a motion was to be made for raising him to the kingship. The fatal morning arrived; Cæsar, who is said to have had a distinct presentiment of his approaching death, and who was in a weak state of health, was persuaded by his wife Calpurnia, in consequence of a fearful dream which she had had, to remain at home. Some warnings of what was going on had recently reached him; he had resolutely refused, however, to raise

a body-guard. 'Better die,' he said, 'than be always in fear of death.' About the time of the assembling of the senate, Decimus Brutus calling at the house of Cæsar, overcame his resolution to stay at home; and ascending his litter, Cæsar set out. The senate house was already full; some of the conspirators in their seats, others waiting at the door for Cæsar's arrival. When he entered, the senate rose, out of respect to him. The conspirators gathered round his chair, some before, and some behind it. One of them, Tillius Cimber, a notorious drunkard, began to petition him for the recall of his brother who was in exile, the others seemed to join Cimber in his request. Cæsar, signifying by his gestures that the petition was in vain, took his seat, and as they still pressed him, he showed signs of impatience. At that moment Cimber gave the signal for the attack, by pulling down his toga from the neck with both his hands. On this Casca, who was standing behind, struck him an irresolute blow in the neck. 'Thou villain, Casca,' cried Cæsar, turning round and seizing the dagger, at the same time pushing the writing style which he held in his hand into Casca's arm. The other conspirators drew their swords and struck at him in all directions, wounding each other in their hurry; the rest of the senate looked on amazed. Cæsar calling out, continued to dash himself hither and thither in the midst of his assassins, until Brutus, who was among the last to draw his sword, wounded him in the groin. '*Et tu, Brute!*'—'And thou, Brutus!'—said Cæsar, with a look of reproach at his friend. Then resigning himself to his fate, he drew his toga over his face, and fell bleeding at the foot of Pompey's statue, to which the scuffle had brought him. A few more strokes, and Cæsar was dead; he had received twenty-three wounds. The bloody deed being perpetrated, Brutus and the others turned to harangue the senate; but terrified by what had happened, the senators fled, leaving the conspirators standing by the body. The news spread through the city; all were in horror; places of business were shut; some barred their doors, others ran through the streets towards the senate house to ascertain the particulars of the case. And thus

was performed what has been truly called the most vile and useless action that the Romans ever committed. Cæsar was fifty-six years of age at the time of his unhappy death.

362. At first, all the leading men in Rome seemed to agree that since the assassination had taken place, it would be better to treat it as an unfortunate transaction, regarding which various opinions might be entertained, but which should not be allowed, at all events, to interrupt the progress of public business. Accordingly, there was a seeming reconciliation between the conspirators and those who might have been expected to avenge the death of Cæsar. Inspired, however, partly by affection for his deceased commander, partly by a desire to step into the place which he saw vacant, Mark Antony gave himself no rest until he had roused the public indignation against the conspirators. The publication of Cæsar's will likewise helped to create a reaction. In this document his grandnephew, Caius Octavius (the son of a respectable knight, who had married Atia, the daughter of Cæsar's sister Julia), was designated as his chief heir, and adopted as his son, under the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus. He was yet only in his nineteenth year; and Cæsar, who had only recently begun to take an interest in him, had sent him to complete his education at Appollonia in Illyricum, intending to take him with him into the East. Little known at Rome, it was not to be expected that any spontaneous exertion would be made by the people to win for this youth the inheritance which his granduncle had left him. But when it was known that Cæsar had remembered the citizens in his will, bequeathing to them a sum amounting to about £2, 8s. to each, besides his gardens and pleasure-grounds on the Tiber; and when the touching fact also became public, that among those to whom he had left legacies were several of the conspirators, the storm burst forth, and the cry arose for vengeance. Inflamed by a skilful address delivered by Antony over Cæsar's corpse at his funeral, the populace rose in riot, burnt the corpse, as a mark of honour, in the Forum, and became so furious, that the conspirators, to save their lives, fled from Rome.

363. Thus left master of the capital, and of Cæsar's papers and treasures, Antonius was able during several months to do as he pleased. The senate passed every decree that he proposed; and Cæsar's veterans also gathered round him. Suddenly, however, a new character appeared on the scene—the youth Octavianus, who came to claim his granduncle's inheritance. The bold soldier had not expected a rival in this stripling, and when the property and papers of Cæsar were demanded from him, he showed no inclination to part with them. Octavianus, however, was more than a match for Antonius. Of small stature, weak-bodied, although handsome, frequently in ill health, labouring under a hesitation of speech amounting almost to a defect, and, what in a Roman was worst of all, reputed to be such a physical coward, that he trembled if exposed to danger, or even if left alone in the dark, Octavianus yet possessed a profound political genius. Nor did he want supporters. Many men of ability attached themselves to him as his advisers; and his large promises won the hearts of his granduncle's veterans. The senators, too, with Cicero at their head, welcomed the young adventurer as a man whose claims it might be advantageous to support. In short, Antonius found himself not only obliged to yield Cæsar's papers and money to Octavianus, but in danger also of losing his political importance in the presence of such a rival. So strong was the public opinion in favour of Octavianus, that Antonius at length withdrew with such forces as adhered to him into Cisalpine Gaul. Octavianus remained in Rome, where Cicero procured for him, by a special grant, the title of proprætor, and devoted himself to his interests. To crush Antony, recall the conspirators, and, if possible, restore public tranquillity by reconciling Octavianus to a government in which he should have Brutus and Cassius for his coadjutors, seems to have been the anxious wish of Cicero. It was a step towards the accomplishment of this wish when, in the beginning of 711, the young proprætor was sent into Cisalpine Gaul as joint commander against Antony, with the two new consuls Hirtius and Pansa, both of whom had been favourite officers of Cæsar.

364. The campaign was successful: Antony was driven into Transalpine Gaul, where he was kindly received by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who, having been appointed to the province of Gaul by Cæsar, had withdrawn thither, after assisting to excite the public feeling against the conspirators. The two consuls, however, having been slain in the midst of their victories, and Cæsar's veterans refusing to serve under Decimus Brutus, the ultimate effect of the campaign was to increase the power and popularity of Octavianus. Disclosing his real views, the young man, on his return to Rome at the head of the army, laid claim to the consulship, although he had not yet attained to half the legal age. Cicero, who had hitherto been zealous in his behalf, was staggered by this unexpected show of ambition; and repelling the attempt of Octavian to flatter his vanity, by proposing to make him his colleague, he joined the party of those who were prepared to resist this young and aspiring successor of Cæsar. The resistance, however, was vain; the cunning of Octavian and the enthusiasm of the veterans gained the day, and on the 19th of August 711 he was elected consul, along with his nephew Quintus Pedius. One of the first acts of the new consuls was to pass a law ordaining the institution of criminal proceedings against all who had been engaged in the late conspiracy. It became evident, in short, that the intentions of Octavian were to pave the way for his accession to that position of supremacy which his granduncle had occupied.

365. Such being the intentions of Octavian, to crush the senate, and hunt down the assassins of Cæsar, in whatever part of the Roman world they should take refuge, became his first objects. Accordingly, he lost no time in entering into negotiations with Antony and Lepidus, who, having been joined in the meantime by various inferior leaders, were advancing from Gaul at the head of a large force. These negotiations led to a meeting, in the month of November, near Bononia (Bologna), at which Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus constituted themselves into a Triumvirate for the administration of the government—Octavian undertaking Africa,

Sardinia, and Sicily as his peculiar charge, Antony the greater portion of Gaul, and Lepidus Spain, while the East and Italy were left common. As the first object of the Triumvirs was to establish their own power, they had no sooner formed their coalition than they imitated the policy of Sulla, by preparing a list of those citizens whom they thought it necessary to put to death. Each of the Triumvirs furnished so many names; and the result was, that about 300 senators and 2000 knights were included in the proscription. On the entry of the three colleagues into the capital, they were formally invested with the office which they had already assumed, and the massacres began. Many were slain in the city, others in their flight through Italy; some escaped by remaining in concealment until the search was over, others made their way into the provinces. The horrors of this proscription are said to have exceeded those sanctioned by Sulla; and of the Triumvirs, the young Octavian was by far the most cruel. The most distinguished victim was Cicero, who was living in industrious retirement at his Tusculan villa. On learning that he was one of the proscribed, he fled for his life, but was overtaken and put to death on the 7th of December, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

366. Masters of Rome and Italy, the Triumvirs prepared to sweep away the remnants of the constitutional party, by whose existence in the provinces the unity of the Roman dominion was broken. The West was theirs, but in the East Brutus and Cassius were acting the part of sovereigns, while Sextus Pompeius assisted them, although without professing to do so, by the movements of his fleet in the Mediterranean. The followers of Pompeius were, for the most part, privateers and adventurers; but the armies of Brutus and Cassius consisted of regular forces, raised by them in Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria. These armies were employed—that of Brutus in Asia Minor, and that of Cassius in Syria, when Octavian and Antony, having settled the affairs of Italy, and left their colleague Lepidus joint-consul with one of their adherents named Plancus, crossed the Adriatic, and speedily overran Greece. Brutus and Cassius uniting

their forces in Asia Minor, where they were delayed some time by the necessity of reducing the Rhodians and the Lycians to obedience, crossed the Hellespont to oppose their farther progress. The two armies met, in the autumn of 712, near the town of Philippi in Macedonia—that of Octavian and Antony numbering nineteen legions, with 13,000 horse; that of Brutus and Cassius nineteen legions, with 20,000 horse. In two battles, between which there was an interval of twenty days, the fate of the war was decided. In the first, it was uncertain to which side the victory belonged. Unfortunately, however, Cassius thinking the day lost, caused an attendant to put an end to his existence, and thus Brutus was left with the sole command. Risking a second battle, he was totally routed, and in despair committed suicide. All the surviving conspirators, and many of the proscribed who had fought in the battle, followed his example; others fell victims to the relentless policy of Octavian, by whose orders many prisoners were put to death whom Antony, soldier as he was, would have saved. And thus, in the words of Plutarch, 'the great dæmon of Cæsar which had accompanied him through life, had followed him also when dead, hunting and tracking out his murderers through sea and land, till not one of them was left.'

367. After the battle of Philippi the victors separated, Octavian returning to Italy, and Antony remaining to administer the affairs of the East. The conduct of the latter in Greece was unexpectedly mild and conciliatory; afterwards, however, passing into Asia Minor, he began to levy enormous tributes, and otherwise oppress the unhappy provincials. Kings, princes, magistrates, all flocked to pay their respects to the soldier of the great Cæsar, now one of the masters of the Roman world. Among others summoned by Antony, while he was residing at Tarsus in Cilicia, came Cleopatra, who had fled from Rome on the death of Cæsar, and who, her brother having been assassinated, now reigned as sole queen of Egypt. Although summoned to answer for her conduct in not assisting the Triumvirs more zealously, she no sooner appeared in Tarsus than

Antony became the slave of her charms, and quitting Asia Minor, accompanied her to Egypt.

368. Meanwhile Italy was far from being in a state of tranquillity. On his return to Rome, in the spring of 713, Octavian had occupied himself in rewarding his army by establishing a number of military colonies throughout the peninsula. Hundreds of innocent families were ejected from their little possessions to make room for the ferocious soldiery; and cries of distress rose from every district. The cause of the peasantry was supported by Lucius, the brother of Antony, and one of the consuls of the year. He was stimulated by Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who, almost mad with jealousy on account of her husband's stay in Alexandria, was eager to raise some commotion at home which would oblige him to return. The distressed peasantry, with some of his brother's soldiers, gathered round Lucius; ultimately, however, he and Fulvia shut themselves up in the town of Perusia, where they were besieged by Octavian. The siege was protracted, but at length Lucius capitulated on promise of his life. Fulvia was permitted to go into Greece, where she soon afterwards died.

369. Roused by the intelligence of these events, Antony returned to Italy, uncertain whether to make war upon his colleague, or to disavow the proceedings of his wife and brother. By the mediation of the celebrated Cilnius Mæcenas, one of Octavian's most intimate friends, a peace was arranged at Brundusium, by which Antony and Octavian agreed to forget their differences, and form a new alliance. To render the treaty more binding, Antony, now a widower, married Octavia, the half sister of Octavian, a woman of the noblest character. A new division of the Roman empire then took place, Antony receiving as his share the whole of the East, Octavian the whole of the West, with the exception of Africa and Sicily, which were assigned to Lepidus. Italy, as before, remained unappropriated. Before, however, the Triumvirs could enjoy their power in quiet, it was necessary that they should either conquer or come to terms with Sextus Pompeius, who had established himself in Sicily, so as to be able to stop the

supplies of corn which the population of Italy, and especially of Rome, derived from that island. After two interviews between him and the Triumvirs at Cape Misenum, it was agreed that, in compensation for the injuries sustained by himself and his family, he should receive a sum of money amounting to about £60,000, be put in possession of the islands of the Mediterranean, together with the Peloponnesus, and be allowed to canvass for the consulship during his absence. Thus, in the year 714, peace was restored over the whole Roman world.

370. Scarcely, however, had Antony returned to the East, when Octavian gave convincing evidence of his resolution to become absolute master of the West. Evading the terms of the treaty with Pompeius, he made war upon him; and being assisted by Lepidus, and by the military talents of one of his advisers, Marcus Agrippa, succeeded, after a war of several years, in expelling him from Sicily, and driving him into Asia Minor, where he was treacherously assassinated. Pompeius having thus been disposed of, the only rival to the power of Octavian in the West was his colleague Lepidus. A dispute, however, having arisen as to which should possess Sicily, the superior abilities of Octavian gained the victory; and Lepidus, forsaken by all, was glad to purchase his safety by consenting to lay down his power and retire into private life. Thus, before the end of the year 719, Octavian saw himself undisputed master of the western half of the Roman world.

371. Meanwhile the conduct of Antony in the East had been despicable. Sending his wife Octavia home to Italy, he had resumed his connection with the queen of Egypt, and suffered himself to be guided by her in all his measures. To Cleopatra's Egyptian dominions he added Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cyprus, and his intention seemed to be to make Alexandria the metropolis of a great eastern empire. That, however, which precipitated the rupture between him and Octavian, was his treatment of his wife Octavia, who, in the year 720, when he was meditating a second expedition into Parthia, set out from Rome to join him with some reinforcements. On learning her approach, Antony sent her orders to leave the troops, and return to

Rome. This insult to his sister confirmed Octavian's resolution to break with Antony; and accordingly he began to denounce his conduct, and to give publicity to every rumour relative to his disgraceful manner of living which could make him odious to the Romans. Antony, in retaliation, divorced Octavia, and publicly acknowledged Cleopatra as his wife. Thus began what may be called the struggle between the East and the West. Many of Antony's adherents left Italy to join him; and the latter part of the year 721 was spent in earnest preparations on both sides.

372. The forces of Antony amounted to 100,000 foot and 12,000 horse, besides auxiliaries, and his fleet consisted of 500 ships. Octavian's fleet consisted of only 250 ships, and his forces were considerably inferior in numbers to those of his rival; but his men were better trained, and his officers were far abler. At length, in the summer of 722, Antony, accompanied by Cleopatra, took up his station near the Ambracian Gulf, on the western coast of Greece. Octavian, whose fleet was commanded by Agrippa, crossed from Brundusium to meet him; and on the 2d of September a sea-battle was fought near Cape Actium. The battle was yet undecided, when a panic seized Cleopatra, and she fled with her Egyptian vessels. The infatuated Antony followed her, and all was lost. Deserted by their leader, Antony's forces surrendered to the conqueror; and before the spring of 723, the whole of Asia gave in its allegiance. The battle of Actium may therefore be said to have placed the sovereignty of the Roman world in the hands of Octavian; and nothing remained but to invade Egypt, and gain possession of the persons of Antony and Cleopatra. Foreseeing their fate, and yet unable to escape from it, these two unfortunate beings had been spending the winter in the wildest luxury, interrupted by spasms of despair. In the summer of 723, Octavian advanced through Asia towards Egypt, and there landed at Pelusium, and approached Alexandria. Antony was able to offer a slight resistance at first; but ultimately finding himself deserted by all his forces, he inflicted on himself a mortal wound. Removed

into the palace where Cleopatra had shut herself up with her treasures, he died in her presence on the 1st of August. On the same day Alexandria capitulated, and Cleopatra was made a prisoner in her palace. For some time she appears to have wavered between a desire to live, and a feeling that she ought not to survive her lover: finding, however, in an interview which she had with Octavian, that he was too cold to yield to her charms, and that he was anxious to save her life only that she might adorn his triumph, she committed suicide by applying an asp to her breast. At the time of her death she was in her thirty-ninth year; Antony was in his fifty-third. Octavian gave both corpses a magnificent funeral. Cæsarian, the son of Cleopatra by Julius Cæsar, he put to death, but he reserved her two sons by Antony for his triumph. Then having reduced Egypt to a province, and collected a treasure sufficient to reward his troops, he returned to Rome through Asia.

373. The year 723 thus witnessed the extinction of the republic, which had endured for 480 years. Fifteen years of needless anarchy had been the result of the assassination of Cæsar. During these fifteen years, however, the Romans had gained wisdom; and in 725, when the grand-nephew of the great dictator returned to Rome, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, there did not exist a man so infatuated as to desire a return to the so-called liberty of the later Commonwealth. The veteran legions were devoted to the young chief. The provinces, long harassed and oppressed, were eager for peace. The populace of the capital cared only for shows and plentiful supplies of corn, and were willing to receive a sovereign who promised to be liberal in these respects. In the senate there was no Cato, Cicero, or Brutus, to protest in favour of the ancient forms: all were servile to the conqueror. In these circumstances, Octavian assumed the sovereignty of the Roman world, not as a usurper, but as one called to the office by the universal voice. Nor did there exist a fitter man for so high a station. Heartless, unscrupulous, and cowardly, his intellect triumphed even over these defects, by furnishing him with a true perception of what was required of the

individual who should undertake the sovereignty of the world at such a crisis. Hitherto the cruel Triumvir, he was thenceforward to be the calm and clement ruler. The name of Octavianus, which he had hitherto borne, was discarded, with all its disagreeable associations, and he entered upon his new career with the name and title of *Imperator Julius Cæsar Augustus.*

374. It would be a mistake to suppose that the title of *Imperator*, as originally conferred, was synonymous with our word *emperor*. The true imperial power of Augustus did not depend on this or on any other single title, but on the concentration in his person of a great variety of titles, of which Imperator was one of the most prominent. It was, as may have been remarked, a peculiarity of the Roman constitution to intrust almost unlimited power to all their higher officials, and to rely upon the mutual opposition of these officials as a means of checking the abuses which might otherwise have arisen. Thus the consuls, the censors, and the tribunes, were all invested with despotic power in their several departments. In order, therefore, to make Augustus supreme, it was not necessary to invent a new title, nor even to invest him with the ominous name of Dictator; all that was required was to unite in him those constitutional powers which had hitherto been kept distinct. Already consul five times, he was re-elected to that office six years successively, and as often as he chose afterwards. Imperator, proconsul, censor, tribune, and Pontifex Maximus for life—such were the titles on which the power of Augustus was founded. As imperator, he held the supreme command of all the forces; as proconsul, the whole empire, with the exception of Rome, was put under his administration; as censor, he could create or depose senators, and control the finances; as tribune, he could convoke the senate, repeal its decrees, and arrest at his pleasure the whole machinery of government; as Pontifex Maximus, he was at the head of the ecclesiastical law. The union of these offices in his person conferred on Augustus a power more unbounded than that of almost any modern sovereign. The functions of the senate and

people became merely nominal. The comitia still continued to be held occasionally in the Campus Martius, but only for the election of citizens to public offices; and on such occasions the candidates named by Augustus were always chosen. Too unwieldy, on account of their numbers, the people ceased to exercise any share in the legislation. The senate, on the other hand, became the passive instrument of Augustus, one of whose first reforms in his capacity of censor had been to eject from this body, whose numbers had increased to a thousand, many of its least respectable members. The senate met three times every month, except during a vacation in September and October; and whatever laws were proposed to it by Augustus, or the consuls whom he prompted, were passed almost invariably without discussion, having been previously matured in a committee chosen by lot. No measure originated with the senate itself. The favourite title of Augustus was that of *Princeps Senatus*, or Chief of the Senate; and it was his policy scrupulously to conform in all external respects to the conduct proper to the possessor of so simple a title. Attended by no court, but leading in his private mansion the life of an ordinary patrician of rank and fortune, he avoided the dangers to which ostentation or ambition for the kingly title would have exposed him. He professed even to regard his powers as a temporary trust; and thus it was not till he had been several times reinvested with these powers, that the Romans found that they had entered on a new period of their history.

PERIOD OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

SURVEY OF THE EMPIRE UNDER AUGUSTUS.

375. The Roman Empire under Augustus extended from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the river Euphrates on the east, and included the following countries:—Italy, with the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily; Spain; Gaul, as far as the Rhine; Illyricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia; Macedonia, Greece, Thrace, Crete, and the islands of the Ægean; Asia Minor; Cyprus; Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, with portions of the adjacent territory; and lastly, the whole of the northern coast of Africa, from the Red Sea to the Pillars of Hercules. The area of this vast dominion has been estimated at about 4,000,000, square miles, and its population at 100,000,000, of whom nearly one-half were slaves.

376. Not so familiar as the moderns with the conception of the spherical form of the earth, and at all events ignorant of its real size, the inhabitants of the Roman world could not ascertain the proportion of its habitable surface which they occupied, but felt themselves surrounded on all sides by an unfathomable abyss. On the west, they recoiled from the wide waters of the Atlantic; on the other three sides they were pressed upon by barbarian populations, which seemed to swarm forward out of a land of shadows—on the north by the Germans and Scythians, inhabiting the region east of the Rhine and north of the Danube; on the east by the fleet Parthians, beyond whom somewhere were the tawny Indians; and on the south by the Ethiopians, whose home was the unknown interior of Africa.

377. The Empire was clearly distinguishable into two portions—the East, which had been included within the

dominion of Alexander the Great, and whose population was already thoroughly imbued with the Greek civilisation; and the West, consisting of European and African nations, first brought within the pale of civilisation by the Romans themselves. Subordinate to this grand distinction were minor differences of soil, climate, language, and degree of culture. For the purposes of government, the Empire may be considered as having been divided into three parts—Italy, the Provinces, and the Dependencies. The *dependencies* — that is, those countries which it was deemed advisable to govern through native or other sovereigns — were few in number, and situated at the frontiers of the Empire. Mauritania in Africa, Cappadocia and Judæa in Asia, were administered by kings, and several other districts in Syria and Asia Minor were governed by petty potentates, designated Tetrarchs, Dynasts, &c.; these arrangements, however, were liable at any time to be altered. The *provinces* were twenty-two in number: three in Spain—namely, Tarraconensis, Lusitania, and Bœtica; four in Gaul—Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Celtica (Cisalpine Gaul was now incorporated with Italy); four in Africa — Numidia, Africa Proper, Egypt, and Cyrene, to which was annexed Crete; five in Asia—Asia Proper, comprehending the west of Asia Minor, Bithynia, including Pontus, Cilicia, Cœlesyria, and Phœnicia; three in Eastern Europe—Dalmatia, Macedonia, and Achaia or Greece; and finally, the three island provinces of Sardinia, Sicily, and Cyprus. These twenty-two provinces were arranged by Augustus in two classes; the one consisting of those where military force might still be necessary, and of which he therefore took charge himself; the other of those whose subjugation might be regarded as complete, and which, accordingly, he intrusted to the senate. The imperial provinces were Hispania Tarraconensis and Lusitania; the four Gaulish ones; and Egypt, Cilicia, Cœlesyria, and Cyprus. The senatorial provinces were Hispania Bœtica, Numidia, Africa Proper, Cyrene with Crete, Asia Proper, Bithynia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Achaia, Sardinia, and Sicily. Some changes were afterwards made in this arrangement.

378. In every province a Roman citizen acted as governor. The senatorial provinces were governed by consulars or prætors with proconsular power, and their period of office was limited to one year. The imperial provinces were administered by persons chosen by the emperor from among the senators or the equites; they were styled simply *Legati Cæsaris*, or Lieutenants of Cæsar, the emperor himself retaining the proconsular dignity. They held their office, however, for four, five, or even ten years, according to the pleasure of the emperor; their posts were more lucrative than those of the senatorial proconsuls; and, on the whole, their government gave greater satisfaction. Augustus introduced the excellent practice of paying all the provincial governors a regular salary. Under the governors, there were in each province officials of various kinds—clerks, interpreters, and such like, besides soldiers, acting as a police. The highest officials after the governors were those called, in the senatorial provinces, *Quæstors*, and in the imperial, *Procuratores Cæsaris*, or Procurators of Cæsar. It was their function to superintend the revenues, to pay the troops, receive tribute, control the publicans in the exercise of their unpopular profession as farmers of the taxes, &c. The quæstors forwarded their money to the *Œrarium*, or State Treasury, the procurators forwarded theirs to the *Fiscus*, or Military Treasury, of the emperor. Even in the senatorial provinces there were procurators to collect certain dues for the Fiscus.

379. The character of the government in the several provinces depended very much on the special arrangements which had been made with regard to them at the time of their incorporation with the Roman dominion. The special point of difference, however, between Italy and the provinces, was the immunity of the former from the heavy burdens imposed upon the latter. A fine or tribute, imposed at the time of conquest; a perpetual land-tax or rent, amounting to one-tenth or more of the produce; a poll-tax; exactions of money, &c. upon extraordinary occasions—such were the means, varying with the circumstances, by which money was drained from the provinces. The general income derived from them at the beginning

of the Empire has been estimated at a sum equal to £20,000,000 sterling. Of this sum, the larger part was supplied by the imperial provinces; but as Augustus found the revenues from these inadequate to the support of the large standing army required, he was induced to increase the taxes paid by the Roman citizens.

380. Italy, and Rome itself, were under the direct government of the emperor. Italy, which now constituted one great nation, all the freeborn members of which were Roman citizens and fellow-countrymen, was divided by Augustus into a number of districts, or, as they may be called, counties, each of which was probably under the administration of a prefect. For the purposes of police, &c. Rome was re-divided into fourteen regions or wards, instead of the four parishes of Servius Tullius, and each region was subdivided into a number of *vici*, or streets. In each ward there was a local magistrate, and the whole city was under the superintendence of a dignitary called *Præfectus Urbis.*

381. Rome—which, seven centuries before, had been a mere village of thatched cottages—was now the greatest city in the world. Scholars have estimated its population in the age of Augustus variously—some as high as four or five millions; but the most probable estimate is that which conceives it to have been about two millions and a quarter, or somewhat larger than the population of modern London. An eminent authority, proceeding on this supposition, distributes the citizens into classes, as follows:—

Senators and equites, with their wives and children,	10,000	souls.
Slaves of the above,	100,000	...
Foreign residents,	50,000	...
Their slaves,	100,000	...
Military in the city,	15,000	...
Their slaves,	15,000	...
The *plebs urbana*, or city populace,	1,250,000	...
Their slaves,	625,000	...
Slaves in the public employment,	100,000	...
Total population of Rome,	2,265,000	souls.

If this computation is correct, the Roman capital stood at a great distance above all contemporary cities; for Alex-

andria, which was the second city in the Empire, did not contain more than 700,000 inhabitants.

382. Although ancient Rome thus appears to have been more populous than modern London, the area which it occupied was considerably smaller. The circuit of the British metropolis is calculated at fifteen miles; that of Rome, even sixty or seventy years after the death of Augustus, was only thirteen one-fifth Roman miles, and a Roman mile was 142 yards less than an English one. In Rome, however, there was little vacant space; the streets were winding and narrow; and the houses of the middle and poorer classes rose, storey above storey, to a great height, so as to accommodate a number of families in each. These houses were called *Insulæ*, or Islands, because they were separated from each other by a lane or passage about five feet wide: the lower storeys were generally built of stone, but brick and wood sufficed for the upper; and so frequent an occurrence was the falling of one of those lofty and ill-constructed erections, that Augustus forbade any insula to be built higher than seventy feet. The apartments on the ground-floor opened into the street, and were generally used as shops; the mode of access to the dwellings and lodgings above seems to have been by stairs ascending from the narrow lanes which separated the insulæ. The average number of inhabitants in an insula has been estimated at thirty freemen and fifteen slaves. The insulæ, of which, on such a supposition, there must have been between 40,000 and 50,000, afforded accommodation to all, except the very wealthy; in other words, the senatorial and equestrian families, who, besides villas in various parts of Italy, possessed separate houses in town. These town dwellings of the rich, some of which were situated amid gardens in the suburbs, were called *Domus*, to distinguish them from the insulæ. Although the insulæ were usually five or six storeys high, few domus seem to have exceeded one or two storeys in height, and all of them had a large interior court. An insula, however, if inhabited by only one family, appears to have been called a domus. Six free persons and sixty slaves were probably accommodated, on the average, in each domus.

383. The internal arrangements of an insula probably differed little from those of any of the lofty old houses of a modern city. The more respectable tenants, inhabiting the lower floors, had several apartments serving as sitting and sleeping rooms; the very poor, huddled together, as in modern towns, in the highest storeys, were content with single apartments. House rents in Rome were very high; 2000 sesterces, or about £18 of our money, appear to have been paid for the third or fourth floor of an ordinary insula. A case is mentioned in which a citizen was charged with extravagance for paying thirty-six sestertia, or about £266, of rent; in this case, however, the house was probably a domus.

384. The domus of the times of Augustus, the residence of the senators and wealthy citizens, retained much of the form of the old Roman house described in the early part of this volume; but since the conquest of the East, a degree of splendour unknown to the ancient Romans had been introduced into the architecture and furnishing of private residences. Separated from the street by an open space called the vestibule, the main door of the house admitted into the *ostium*, or hall, where, or in a cell opening out of which, sat the porter and his dog, both of them frequently in chains. From the ostium a second or inner door admitted to the *atrium*, which still continued to be the principal apartment of the house, but was now used by the wealthy as a reception hall, where they received the numerous clients and visitors who came every morning to pay their respects. The atrium in the houses of the rich was usually magnificent: the floor was often paved with pieces of black, white, or coloured marble, set in mortar, so as to form a mosaic; the roof was supported by marble pillars surrounding the *impluvium;* the walls and ceilings were finely painted, and statues and other works of art relieved the eye at intervals. In the atrium were also placed the images of the ancestors of the family, and the *focus*, or fireplace, sacred to the Lares. On the right and left of the atrium were small recesses called *alæ*, or wings; and at the farther end, opposite the entrance door, was another recess or apartment called the *tablinum*, where the family

papers were kept. From the tablinum a passage called the *fauces* led to the *peristylium*, or interior court, which was about the size of the atrium, and was open to the sky, with the exception of a narrow covered and pillared walk round the sides. Shrubs and flowers often grew in the open space of the peristylium. The other parts of the house were the *triclinia*, or dining-rooms, the *oeci* and *exedræ*—the former a more spacious kind of banqueting rooms, the latter rooms used for conversation, &c.—the *culina*, or kitchen, the *cubicula*, or sleeping apartments, &c. Into the atrium light was admitted through the open space in the roof; this served also for such small rooms on the ground-floor as opened from the atrium; the rooms in the upper floors, however, surrounding the atrium, and looking down upon it, were lighted by windows. The rooms were usually heated by pipes of hot air. No rich man's mansion was complete without the *pinacotheca*, or picture gallery, facing the north; the *bibliotheca*, or library, facing the east; and, above all, the *balneum*, or bath room. The description here given of a Roman house is applicable also, with some modifications, to the country villas of the rich Italians, and to the houses of wealthy Roman citizens in the various towns throughout the provinces. The cost of some of these houses was enormous. Cicero, who, like most eminent citizens, possessed several villas, bought a house on the Palatine for 3500 sestertia, or about £31,000; the house of the famous Clodius cost 14,800 sestertia, or £131,000; and when the villa of the rich Scaurus was burned, the loss, including the furniture, &c. was estimated at 100,000 sestertia, or £885,000.

385. Augustus added largely to the number of public buildings in Rome; and it was a saying of his, that he had found the city of brick, and left it of marble. Before the time of Pompey, the Roman theatres had been of wood, although some of them were very magnificently fitted up. Pompey, however, built a stone theatre, near the Campus Martius, capable of containing 40,000 spectators. Two smaller ones were added during the reign of Augustus. He likewise increased the number of aqueducts — those stupendous lines of arched mason-work for conveying

water into the town, the ruins of which are still to be seen. Many temples were likewise erected in his reign, and he brought the use of Cararra marble in such buildings into fashion. In the time of Augustus also, the first *therma*, properly so called, was commenced. This therma, corresponding with the Greek Gymnasium, was a great bathing establishment, with a vast system of annexed buildings and open parks, adapted for athletic sports, walks, idle lounging, &c. Lecture rooms, libraries, picture and sculpture galleries, wooded avenues for promenade, all were attached to the therma. No such colossal establishments had existed during the Commonwealth; but under the Empire, thermæ were to be found in all the important cities.

386. To illustrate the private life of the Romans of the Augustan age, let us imagine how an inhabitant of Rome would spend his day. Rising early in the morning, he dressed himself in an under and outer tunic, both of wool, the one serving as a shirt, the other as a long loose jacket, covering the whole body, with the exception of the forearms and the lower part of the legs, and fastened round the waist by a belt, which, however, was usually ungirded within doors. In cold weather, three or four tunics were worn by persons in good circumstances; the material and manufacture also indicated the wealth or poverty of the wearer. The shoes worn by the Romans were of various kinds—slippers, half-boots laced in front, &c.; the ordinary *calceus*, or walking shoe, however, consisted of a strong wooden sole, fastened to the foot by leathern thongs. Many of the poor went barefooted; and it was a frequent custom at meals and other such occasions to leave the feet uncovered. With certain slight variations, the tunic constituted the principal article of dress with both sexes. Drawers, and coverings for the legs, were also occasionally worn. *Braccæ*, or trousers, were not a part of the proper Greek or Roman dress; the wealthy Romans of the Empire, however, began to wear them, in imitation of the natives of some of the provinces. Peasants, and persons engaged in manual labour, wore no article of body-dress except the tunic; but residents in the town, and men of leisure, wore above it the *toga* or gown, a large woollen plaid, usually white,

but sometimes striped or bordered, which was wrapped in many folds round the body. The differences of rank among the citizens were marked by the style of the toga which they wore.

387. Fully dressed, and having partaken of the *jentaculum*, or breakfast, a slight meal of bread, cheese, fruit, &c. the first occupation of the Roman was to pay or receive visits. In the early morning hours, accordingly, citizens filled the temples; clients thronged the atrium of their patron; men of equal rank paid each other visits of ceremony; and men in office received the congratulations and compliments of their suitors or admirers. The hours which followed these morning levees were the business part of the day, during which the industrious plied their respective vocations, and the idle lounged away their time within doors. This part of the day included the interval between seven or eight and twelve or one o'clock. About noon, a second meal, called the *prandium*, or luncheon, usually interrupted business; and thence to five or six in the afternoon was the time of relaxation and amusement for such as did not choose to work longer. It was at this time that the thermæ were crowded; the wrestling-grounds, &c. by the young men; the porticos, galleries, and libraries by the elderly and studious. It was at this time also that the theatres were open for dramatic entertainments, and the circus and amphitheatres for horse and chariot races, gladiatorial fights, shows of wild beasts, &c. The former kind of entertainments, including tragedy, comedy, pantomime, music, &c. were called *Ludi Scenici*, or Scenic Sports; the latter, *Ludi Circenses*, or Sports of the Circus. Of the latter the Romans were immoderately fond. *Panis et Circenses*—'Bread and Circus-shows'—was the phrase of the Roman populace for the necessaries of life. Lions, tigers, elephants, bulls, &c. were collected in the provinces, and brought to Rome at enormous expense, to delight assembled thousands by their bloody encounters with each other, or with human victims. Hundreds of wild animals were sometimes slaughtered in a single exhibition. Even amphibious animals, as hippopotami and crocodiles, were produced to fight for the public amusement, the arena

of the amphitheatre being converted into a lake as occasion required. Not satisfied with these brutalising sports, the Romans sought additional gratification in the murderous encounters of human beings. Men almost in a state of nakedness, armed with swords, and hence called gladiators, were placed to fight against each other. Introduced in the year of the city 264, these horrid exhibitions came gradually to form a part of the funeral ceremony of all wealthy citizens, who indeed usually appropriated a sum for the purpose in their wills. Gladiatorial exhibitions were also common at private entertainments; but it was at the public festivals that they were seen in their highest perfection. Hundreds of gladiators were often exhibited in one day: on one occasion, at a later period, however, than the reign of Augustus, as many as 10,000 were produced to grace the festival. Gladiators were either captives, slaves, condemned malefactors, or volunteers from among the citizens; they were divided into classes, according to their armour and modes of combat; in every case, however, the excitement was that arising from the spectacle of men fighting for their lives. When a gladiator, gashed and bleeding, had yielded to his adversary, it depended on the pleasure of the spectators whether he should be slain or not: if they turned down their thumbs, he was saved; if they raised them, the conqueror struck the fatal blow.

388. So lost were the populace to all sense of proper and independent feeling, that besides accepting bribes, and feasting at the public expense, nothing was so sure to gain their favour as to give a grand exhibition of lions, elephants, horse-races, and the fights of gladiators. Accession to office, especially to the ædileship—the celebration of a victory, or of the anniversary of some great event—the funeral of the near relative of some man of rank—such were the usual occasions on which shows were performed; frequently, however, some wealthy man entertained the people with a show out of mere ostentation. After the Commonwealth, a large share of the duty of providing the people with such entertainments devolved, as was to be expected, on the emperors; rich citizens, however, were still looked to for occasional outlays of this kind. In

the theatres, the circus, and the amphitheatres, the best seats were assigned to the emperor, the senators, the equites, and the foreign ambassadors; the mass of the people were accommodated behind these. Pouring out of these places of amusement, or gathering from the wrestling-grounds, the porticos, &c. the crowds prepared for the *cœna*, or chief meal, which took place at three, four, five, or six o'clock. The almost universal preparation for this meal was a bath either in the public therma or in the bather's private residence. At dinner, as is well known, the Romans reclined on couches or sofas a little higher than the table, leaning on their sides; usually three on one couch, with their heads towards the table. The articles of diet and luxury used by the wealthy citizens at their meals, the kinds of wine which they drank, and their modes of cookery, are subjects which would require a dissertation; suffice it to say that, as epicures, they exhibited a boundless and usually tasteless extravagance. After dinner, wine, music, games, exhibitions of dancing-girls, and often gladiator fights, amused the male guests; and frequently they adjourned, for the purpose of carousing, to a different apartment. Such were the unintellectual indulgences of this great people.

389. In the age of Augustus, about 200,000 of the free inhabitants of Rome were paupers, supported at the public expense, the method of providing for whom was by periodical gratuitous distributions of corn. As we have seen, one of the popular measures of Caius Gracchus was a law establishing a monthly sale of corn to the people at a nominal price; and this law repealed, revived, and modified, had produced its natural results. The pauperism of Rome attained an enormous overgrowth; and latterly, the exaction of a nominal price had been discontinued, and corn had been distributed gratuitously. During the civil wars, the number of paupers had so increased, in consequence of the bounties which they received from the contending leaders, that Cæsar, on his accession to power, found 320,000 citizens depending on the charity of the state. He had reduced the number to 150,000, but it had again risen under Augustus to 200,000; to feed whom 1,200,000 modii, or 35,156 quarters of corn, were required every year. As

even a temporary stoppage of the supply of corn to the city populace would have occasioned a revolution, a permanent officer, called the *Præfectus Annonæ*, was appointed, whose office it was to secure a regular importation from the provinces. The provinces upon which Rome principally depended for this supply were Sicily, Egypt, and Africa. The corn was transported in ships to the port of Ostia, whence it was carried in boats up the Tiber, to be either distributed immediately, or stored up in some of the 300 granaries which the city contained. Paupers received their allowance monthly, on presenting their corn-ticket, which was never granted without preliminary inquiry by the proper authorities into the circumstances of the applicant. All the males of a destitute family above the age of six were entitled to an allowance; but no senator, knight, slave, or foreigner, could be included in the pauper list. Besides the regular gratuitous distributions, there were occasional sales of corn at a low price; gifts also from the corn provinces, in addition to the established demand, were not uncommon. In short, the provinces were remorselessly drained to supply the hungry—and, it may be added, idle and profligate—population of the metropolis.

390. Turbulent and profligate as the populace were, the vigilant police of Augustus soon restored a degree of order in the city unknown during the later ages of the Commonwealth, when robberies and assassinations were frequent in the streets. The city cohorts, which acted as a police force as well as a garrison, were lodged in barracks within the city, and assisted with their services at fires, riots, and other civil commotions.

391. The communication between the capital and the various provinces of the Empire was partly by sea and partly by durable paved roads, in the construction of which the Romans excelled. Upwards of twelve great roads issued from Rome as a centre, and penetrated Italy in all directions with their branches, crossing mountains, swamps, and rivers, and lined with milestones, showing the distances from the metropolis and other towns of note. Nor did the Romans ever think the conquest of a province complete

until they had pierced it with military roads, along which the legions could march with safety and celerity. For the purpose of conveying government despatches to and from the metropolis, post-houses were established along the roads, with a relay of horses at each. By this means a courier, or a public official, could travel with ease 100 miles a day; private travellers, however, who could not procure a change of horses, advanced much more slowly.

392. After the metropolis, the most important towns in Italy were probably Patavium or Padua, Aquileia, Milan, Ravenna, Verona, and Capua. In Padua there were five hundred citizens rich enough to be ranked in the equestrian order. In ancient Italy the number of towns of all sizes is said to have been 1179, but many of the villages included among these must have disappeared during the growth of the Roman power in the peninsula. In the south of Italy especially, as well as in Sicily, the system of extensive proprietorship of land by Roman citizens, conjoined as it was with the system of slave labour, seems to have had the effect of desolating and depopulating the country. *Ergastula*, or slave workhouses, were the melancholy substitutes for the cottages of the ancient Samnite and Lucanian farmers; and it required vigorous efforts on the part of Augustus to free the southern districts from the multitudes of banditti whom these ergastula sent forth to infest the roads.

393. The eastern countries of the Empire were studded with great cities, the noble monuments of the extensive diffusion of the Greek race round that portion of the Mediterranean. Greece itself appears to have suffered most from the dominion of the Romans. Tracts of country in Macedonia, Achaia, and the Peloponnesus, were now desert; cities once famous were either mere villages or masses of ruins; and the two most flourishing towns in Greece were Corinth and Patræ, both of them Roman colonies. In Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, the condition of affairs was not so bad; there the ancient capitals Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamus, Tarsus, Tyre, Antioch, and Alexandria, still looked with pride on hosts of dependent cities, and still teemed with activity and life. Proceeding westward

along the African coast from Cyrene and Egypt, the traveller found himself at length in the midst of the three hundred cities and towns which had once acknowledged the sway of Carthage, and which still maintained a thriving existence. Crossing the Straits of Gibraltar, he entered the more peculiarly Roman part of the Empire—namely, the Spanish and Gaulish provinces. In these the process of colonisation proceeded so rapidly, that in a short time they became as completely Roman as Italy itself; a fact visible even to the present day, in the radical similarity of the languages spoken by the three great modern nations — the Italians, the French, and the Spanish—into which the Western Empire was ultimately fractured. In the age of Augustus, Spain and Gaul were covered with rising townships: in the former, Cordova, Seville, Cadiz, Carthagena, and Tarragona; and in the latter, Marseilles, Lyons, Narbonne, Arles, Nismes, and Bourdeaux, were already places of importance.

394. While almost every province of the Empire contained within itself all that was necessary for the support of its inhabitants, the union of so vast a portion of the world's population under one government, and the admirable arrangement of the various provinces round so large a tract of sea, favoured the interchange of commodities by commerce. The West, in particular, benefited by commerce with the East; and many flowers, fruits, and other natural productions, now common over the whole west of Europe, were first transplanted thither from the East in the later ages of the Roman Commonwealth or the earlier ages of the Empire. Cattle, bacon, and coarse wool, from Gaul; oil, wine, wax, honey, salt fish, cinnabar, cochineal, fine wool, and sheep of the best breed, from Spain; besides gold, silver, tin, lead, iron, and copper, from the rich mines of that country; corn, cattle, and various kinds of fruits, from Africa, and especially from Egypt, from which also came the famous *papyrus*, or writing material of the ancients; and miscellaneous articles of luxury from Asia; such were the exports of the provinces to Italy. In the slave-market also were congregated the natives of all parts of the Empire, and of every diversity of colour, from the

negro of Africa to the fair-skinned native of Britain. The commerce of the Romans was not confined to the limits of their Empire. Furs were brought from Scythia, amber from the shores of the Baltic, tin from Britain, carpets and other articles of Eastern manufacture from Babylonia; and every year ships sailing from an Egyptian port made a perilous voyage down the Red Sea and along the southern coast of Asia as far as Ceylon, returning with silk, precious stones, pearls, spices, and drugs, which were conveyed to Alexandria, and thence distributed at enormous prices over the Empire.

395. The social features of the Empire were of a heterogeneous order. The genuine Romans having been dispersed by colonisation through the East and West, men of all nations had flowed into Italy to supply their places. These, again, after having acquired by their residence the character, name, and habits of 'citizens,' had been in their turn diffused through the provinces; and thus, by an incessant process of afflux of provincials to Rome, and efflux of Romans into the provinces, East and West had alike been penetrated with the peculiar ingredient upon which their cohesion depended. The power of cohesion in the Empire may therefore be defined as having consisted in the just diffusion through all its parts of Roman citizens as a preponderating element in society—crowded together in Italy, where all the freeborn inhabitants were citizens; tolerably numerous in the adjacent countries, Gaul, Spain, Greece, &c. and less densely towards the extremities. The entire number of adult Roman citizens under Augustus is estimated at four millions, of whom perhaps one half may have been resident in Italy, the remainder distributed through the two or three thousand towns which studded the surface of the provinces. With their wives and children, these citizens of Italy and the provinces may have numbered twelve or fourteen millions. These, diffused through a mingled mass of about forty millions of provincials and fifty millions of slaves, constituted the Roman Empire. In the East, the Romans acted only as political masters, while the Greek language and manners remained dominant; but in the West, where the Romans came in

contact with populations less advanced than themselves, they acted not merely as conquerors, but as the missionaries of a new civilisation. To the fresh Celtic races the Latin language was a boon; it conveyed to them new ideas, and became an implement for purposes which could not be answered by their native Gaelic. The degenerate Greek, on the other hand, who spoke a language rich with the thought of ages, yet supple as his own character, would not exchange it for the tongue of the Romans. Throughout the Empire, however, Latin became the official language.

396. As the power of social cohesion in the Empire consisted in the diffusion of Roman citizens through the provinces, so the immediate instrument of control was a large standing army. This army consisted of two parts —the legions, and the auxiliaries. The legions, which, under Augustus, were forty-nine in number—of 6100 foot and 726 horse each—consisted of citizens, enlisted from all parts of the Empire, especially those which produced the strongest men. The auxiliaries were bands of soldiers levied among the provincials, but kept apart from the legions. In the time of Augustus, the legions and auxiliaries together constituted a force of about 450,000 men — a force sufficiently large to preserve order in an empire of a hundred millions. They were not distributed in garrisons through the towns of the Empire, but were kept in a state of constant discipline in stationary camps, at such points as seemed to require the presence of a military force. The principal strength of the legions lay on the Rhine and Danube, to guard the northern frontier against the Germans and Scythians; but Spain, Egypt, Africa, and Syria, were also held in check, each by one or two legions; and even in Italy, Augustus kept a force of about 10,000 men, who were called the Prætorian Guards. These consisted of the picked men of the whole army, and received larger pay than the rest. A considerable proportion of them were stationed in the capital, under the name of the City Cohorts; the remainder were distributed through the neighbouring towns. These Prætorian Guards, we shall find, acted a most conspicuous part in the subsequent history of the Empire.

397. The state of the laws, and the mode of their administration under Augustus, form a subject of great intricacy. The provincials, in general, may be said to have lived under a double legal control—that of their native code, as it had been finally sanctioned by the conquerors, and that exercised in addition by the governors, according to the instructions of the emperor, the decrees of the senate, and their own edicts. Everywhere throughout the Empire, the citizens, on the other hand, enjoyed the benefits of the Roman law, as administered by the governor, or authorised judges under him. A citizen could also appeal to Cæsar against a sentence pronounced by a provincial governor. According to certain statutes, called the Porcian Laws, passed under the Commonwealth, although at what date is uncertain, it was a violation of the constitution to scourge or put to death a Roman citizen, of whatever crime he had been guilty. Yet this provision had been outraged hundreds of times in practice—as, for instance, in the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla, and the execution of the accomplices of Catiline. It was congenial, indeed, to the spirit of the Roman government to allow a large latitude to the plea of public expediency. Under Augustus, accordingly, although the Porcian Laws continued unrepealed, the punishment of death was frequently inflicted, even on Roman citizens, although rarely with ignominy. Loss of property and banishment, however, were the most common punishments; and as the Roman dominion extended over nearly the whole civilised world, it was impossible for a criminal to place himself beyond the reach of the law. Augustus continued to the senate the unpopular privilege of trying crimes against the state.

398. The Augustan age is usually spoken of as the culminating era of Roman literature; and doubtless literary taste was then more widely diffused than in previous ages. Enjoying leisure, and deprived of the stimulus of political excitement, the wealthy citizens, in all parts of the Empire, sought gratification in pleasant books, as they did in rich wines or luxurious viands. To be able to make Greek and Latin verses, or at least to quote passages from the best poets in these languages, were

common accomplishments in the society of even remote provincial towns. Schools, also, of various descriptions, became numerous throughout the Empire; and many Greeks established themselves as teachers in the towns of Gaul and the other western provinces. With all this wide diffusion, however, of a taste for literature, there was a marked deficiency of real literary power. The Greek writers of this age were for the most part mere rhetoricians or grammarians; and notwithstanding that Rome, in the early part of the reign of Augustus, was the residence of Horace, Virgil, and other writers of eminence, it is questionable whether, upon the whole, the Latin compositions of this period equal those which were produced during the stormy age preceding the death of Julius Cæsar.

399. A general view of the religious condition of the Empire could be obtained only by a series of sketches relating to the various provinces individually. Trained in special habits of belief, and accustomed to special modes of worship before their conquest by the Romans, the common people of the various provinces retained these after the change of their political condition, so that the superstitions prevalent in Gaul, for instance, must have been quite different from those prevalent in Egypt. Upon the whole, however, there was an evident tendency to conformity over the entire surface of the Empire, or at least over those portions of it where the pagan or polytheistic form of belief prevailed; and this not merely on account of the diffusion of the Roman citizens, as a common element, through the society of the provinces, but as a natural consequence of the polytheistic spirit. To a polytheist, who himself believed in one set of gods, it did not appear in the least strange or repugnant that another man should believe in another set of gods; and two polytheistic nations comparing their religious systems, and finding, as they supposed, that some of their gods were but the same individuals under different names, would be very willing not only to tolerate each other's faith, but even to borrow from each other new objects of worship. Thus, on the one hand, the names and functions of the gods of Rome

speedily became familiar to the barbarian provincials; and, on the other, the Romans exhibited an extraordinary eagerness to receive foreign deities of note into their Pantheon. By the perpetual importation of foreign gods, all the sects of the Empire could at length boast of being represented in the metropolis. It was a favourite amusement, we are told, of the Roman youths, to visit the Jewish synagogues, and other foreign chapels, during the celebration of service. While, however, so far as was allowed by the facile spirit of polytheism, the lower classes of Italy, and the mass of the provincials, were sincere and steadfast in their religious beliefs, a general scepticism, under the form of the Epicurean philosophy, prevailed among the educated Greeks and Romans. Julius Cæsar, and almost all the distinguished characters of his time, were sceptics to the extent at least of having renounced as fabulous the ancient beliefs of their country regarding Saturn, Jupiter, and the like. To doubt, or even deny, the providence of the gods, and the immortality of the soul, was a common characteristic of the Epicureanism then prevalent, although actual atheism was unknown. Yet even of these sceptics there was none so hardy as to propose to abolish the common forms of worship. Many of them were unable, notwithstanding their speculative unbelief, to free themselves from habits of superstitious respect for omens, auguries, &c. and others regarded religion as essential to social order.

400. As the religion of the Empire varied in its various parts, so likewise did its moral condition. Probably the state of morality was lowest in the East, where luxury and refinement had advanced farthest. The more barbarous society of the West, however, had its peculiar vices; and although it is certainly difficult to estimate the amount of vice in any age, so as to be able to say whether it exceeds or falls below the average, there seems to be sufficient reason to believe that the age of Augustus was one in which humanity, as a whole, had sunk below its ordinary moral level. Yet even in this age noble characters were not wanting. The middle classes in the provinces were probably free from much of that gross licentiousness in the marriage relation, which the literature

of the age proves to have been prevalent in the large and wealthy cities. Among those even who professed Epicureanism, and practised it in their general conduct, there were many whom natural amiableness of disposition, or a fine, ineradicable sense of honour, rendered capable of great and estimable actions. For men of more earnest temperament there was a refuge in Stoicism—that system of philosophy which, prescribing a subjugation of the passions, and a stern endurance of the ills of life, was the natural antagonist of Epicureanism. Stoicism never made much progress among the Greeks; but it was peculiarly suitable to the Roman character, and many of the best men of the declining age of the Commonwealth adopted its tenets.

401. There is one portion of the extensive Empire of Augustus to which the mind turns with peculiar interest—the little dependency of Judæa, at the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean. Added to the Roman dominion by Pompey in 691, this small territory had become an object of some importance, in consequence of its proximity to the Parthian frontier; and during the triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, Herod, an Idumæan adventurer, had been advanced to the throne under the Roman patronage. Herod had taken the side of Antony during the civil war; but on its conclusion, he was able to make his peace with Augustus, whose favour he continued to enjoy during a long reign. Ruling the people with a strict and able hand, he endeavoured at the same time to alter their national character by introducing the Greek and Roman civilisation. Even under Herod, however, and while speaking the Greek language along with their native Hebrew, the Jews preserved their peculiar and inveterate characteristics, still regarding themselves as God's chosen people, and the Law of Moses as the eternal and immutable rule of human life. The condition of Judæa, as forming a portion of the Empire of Augustus, may therefore be aptly described as that of a small monotheistic territory, situated on the skirt of the great polytheistic world. Between these two, union was impossible. The polytheistic nations might look with toleration upon the Jews, and be ready to admit them into

their general confederacy, but the Jews felt their own individuality too strongly to admit the unwelcome idea that they should ever be absorbed into the rest of humanity. Small as was their nation, and weak its resources for resisting the pressure of the two powers between which it was placed—the power of the Gentiles on the West, and that of the children of Baal on the East—they yet felt that it could not be crushed, but that some great fortune was reserved for it.

402. Accordingly, in the condition of the Jewish nation in the age of Augustus an extraordinary intensity of spirit is discernible. Divided into various sects, of which the chief were the Pharisees, who contended for the punctualities of the law; the Essenes, who, with higher and more spiritual views than the Pharisees, advocated a life of ascetic seclusion and self-denial; and the Sadducees, who may be defined as Jewish Epicureans—all were excited and eager, speculating on the destinies of the Jewish people, and watching the signs of the times. Among high and low, learned and unlearned, there prevailed a conviction that the period specified by the Prophecies was soon to arrive, and that the advent of the Messiah was at hand. What mattered it that they were now subject to the Romans, that a Herod ruled over them, that Gentiles trod their holy streets and profaned their sacred festivals—a few short years, and the promise made to their fathers would be fulfilled; and under the great conqueror, the son of David, the power of Cæsar would be broken, and, the wrongs of centuries having been avenged, the Jews would rise again to pre-eminence among the nations. Such was the expectation; an expectation which the event at once fulfilled and falsified. Judæa was *not* to be absorbed into the Roman world; a power *was* to issue from it stronger and more enduring than that of the Cæsars, but the power was to be a spiritual, not a temporal one. Rising in so obscure and remote a portion of the Roman world, the Christian religion was gradually to overspread its whole surface, subverting or dissolving into itself all existing opinions and philosophies, changing men's modes of thinking and prescribing

a purer code of morals, presiding over political revolutions, and destined to survive them all. The Roman Empire of Augustus was, as it were, but the prepared field over which Christianity was to diffuse itself—a preliminary and spontaneous aggregation of the polytheistic nations which were to submit to its influence.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGNS OF THE EMPERORS.—B. C. 31—A. D. 476.

403. The reign of Augustus, which, by successive renewals of his power on the part of the senate, was extended over the long period of forty-four years, reckoning from his accession to his death in 767 (A. D. 14), resembled a calm after a storm. Enjoying an unbounded popularity both with Italians and provincials, it was his aim not to extend the Empire by fresh conquests, but to consolidate its various parts, and blend its populations into one vast community of civilised beings speaking the Latin language. The ocean, the Rhine, and the Danube, he regarded as the natural frontiers of the Roman Empire on the European side; and he compared an emperor who should seek for wars beyond these limits to a fisherman who should throw golden nets to catch paltry fish. Acting on these views, he devoted himself almost entirely to the cares of civil government, generally residing in Italy, but occasionally spending several months in one of the provinces. His principal advisers in the early and most glorious part of his reign were the celebrated Cilnius Mæcenas and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, both of whom had been among his devoted adherents during his contest with Antony. Mæcenas was of noble Etruscan descent; his rank was that of a Roman eques; and in accordance with his natural temper, and with the Epicurean philosophy which he professed, he avoided the cares of political and military office, and made it his ambition to appear nothing more than a private Roman gentleman, for whom

the emperor entertained a strong personal regard. Of sickly constitution, and luxurious almost to effeminacy in his habits, he appears yet to have possessed much sound practical sense, and much kindness of heart. Agrippa was a totally different character from Mæcenas: of an obscure family, he had become acquainted with Augustus when both were still young; and following the fortunes of his friend, he had exhibited in his service military and political talents of a very high order. Augustus showed greater respect for Agrippa than for any one else, and conferred on him signal marks of favour, which were received without the least servility. At one time, indeed, it appeared that Agrippa or his children might succeed to the Empire. Augustus had no male children either by his first wife, Scribonia, whom he divorced, or by his second, Livia; by the latter, however, he had a daughter, Julia, whom, on the death of her first husband, he obliged Agrippa to marry —a marriage which, while it seemed to secure the Empire to Agrippa's posterity, was rendered very unhappy by Julia's dissolute conduct. The issue by this union was three sons and two daughters, the two former of whom, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, were adopted and educated by Augustus.

404. Mæcenas died in the year 746, four years after Agrippa, and twenty before Augustus. The year of his death is considered as an epoch in the history of Roman literature; and authors, according as they lived before or after it, may be classed among the earlier or the later ornaments of the Augustan age. Among the former (omitting one or two survivors of the blooming period of Cicero and Cæsar, such as the prose writers Asinius Pollio and Aulus Hirtius), were Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Gallus, and Lucius Varius. Virgil (Publius Virgilius Maro) was born at Mantua on the 15th of October 684, and died on the 22d of September 733; Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), who was the son of a freedman, was born at Venusia on the 8th of December 689, and died on the 27th of November 744. The other three, who appear to have been men of higher rank than either Horace or Virgil, were their contemporaries. Probably, therefore, the most productive period of all these

poets was the early part of the career of Augustus—from the death of Cæsar to the establishment of the Empire. It was to the influences of this stormy period that they owed their culture, and several of them were sufferers from the civil wars; but after the accession of Augustus to the sovereignty, they enjoyed repose and distinction under the friendly patronage of Mæcenas. Virgil, in consequence, probably, of the enthusiasm with which he was read immediately after the revival of letters in Europe, was long spoken of as the prince of Roman poets; but this judgment has in later times been reversed. The beauty of his language and versification is universally admitted, and the many passages of sweet and tender description which occur in his poems are admired as much as ever; but the name of a great poet is denied to him. His genial disposition and fine taste seemed to fit him rather for lyric than for epic poetry. Horace was a man of strong and shrewd sense; and his odes, epistles, satires, and miscellaneous poems are as remarkable for their pithy maxims and their keen wit, as for the more genuine poetic fervour which they undoubtedly, although not perhaps uniformly, exhibit. In his philosophy he was an Epicurean; personally, he appears to have been a cheerful, cordial, and independent man, with strong opinions on literary subjects, and a particular dislike to the earlier poets of his own language. Tibullus was an elegiac or sentimental poet—specimens of his verses still remain; but of the productions of Gallus, also an elegiac poet, and Varius, who was a tragic dramatist of great reputation, we possess almost nothing. Dying either before, or not long after their patron Mæcenas, these poets made way for a new generation—the later Augustan writers.

405. Of these, perhaps the eldest was the great Roman historian Titus Livius, more commonly called Livy. He was born at Padua in the year 695, in the consulship of Cæsar, and died in 771, three years after Augustus. He appears to have been a teacher of rhetoric during the early part of his life, and was fifty years of age before he began his history. This immense work consisted in all of 140 or 142 books, and presented a continuous narrative from the

earliest ages of Rome, or rather from the fabulous landing of Æneas in Italy, to the year 745. Of this voluminous undertaking we possess unfortunately only thirty-five books —namely, the first ten, containing a narrative of events down to the year of the city 459; and the twenty-five from book twenty-first to book forty-fifth inclusive, embracing the interval between the breaking out of the second Punic War in 535, and the conclusion of the war with Perseus of Macedonia in 586. As a historian, Livy is flowing, eloquent, and in some parts powerful and picturesque; in accuracy, however, he is often inferior to very inferior men; and the early portion of his work is rather a skilful compilation of the Roman legends, than an authentic history. Contemporary with Livy—who, strangely enough, was the only prose writer of note belonging to the Augustan age—were the poets Propertius, Ovid, Cornelius Severus, and several others of inferior merit. Propertius was a sentimental poet like Tibullus: Severus appears from some fragments to have been a writer of great promise. But of all the writers of the Augustan age, Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) most truly deserves the name of poet. Born at Sulmo, in the Pelignian territory, in the year 711, Ovid enjoyed in peaceful times the blessings of ample fortune and a happy temperament: poems of all kinds, from the light epigram to the lengthened book, flowed from his easy pen; and he might have spent a pleasant old age in Italy but for the severity of Augustus, who, on account of some mysterious offence committed by the poet, banished him, in 762, to Tomi on the Euxine, beyond the limits of the Empire. Here, amid barbarians and strangers, the unhappy love-poet breathed his last in the year 771.

406. Notwithstanding the pacific policy of Augustus, he was obliged during his reign to undertake several wars, either for the suppression of insurrections within the Empire, or for the purpose of protecting the frontier against the barbarians. During the years 740-6, the Rhenish frontier, in particular, was a scene of incessant hostilities, the Germans penetrating into Gaul, and the Romans retaliating by inroads into Germany as far as the Elbe. These wars were carried on, not by Augustus in person, but by

his stepsons Drusus and Tiberius, who, after the death of Agrippa, were probably the best generals in the Empire. They were the sons of Livia by the patrician Tiberius Claudius Nero, her husband before she was married to Augustus. In the midst of his victories, however, Drusus died in the year 745, leaving three children—Germanicus, Claudius, and Livilla—by his wife, who was a daughter of Octavia and Mark Antony. These three children, doubly related to Augustus as the grandchildren of his half sister Octavia and of his wife Livia, shared his affection along with his own grandchildren, the sons of Agrippa and Julia. After the death of Agrippa, however, Julia had been given in marriage to Tiberius; a circumstance which, conjoined with the riper age of Tiberius, and his great talents displayed in the German war, seemed to point him out as a more likely successor than either his stepsons the Cæsars or his nephews the sons of Drusus. Tiberius, however, showed no ambition for so high a fortune, and even offended Augustus by going into retirement at Rhodes as soon as the war in Germany was brought to a conclusion. His principal reason for taking this step was the injury done to his pride by the shameless conduct of his wife Julia, which he dared not reveal to her father. In 752, however, Julia's behaviour became too notorious to be longer concealed even from Augustus. Her husband was ordered to divorce her; and she and her mother Scribonia were placed in strict confinement. Tiberius returned from Rhodes in 755, and the two young Cæsars dying very soon after, he was adopted by Augustus along with Agrippa Postumus, the third son of Julia and Agrippa. Tiberius was obliged at the same time to adopt his nephew Germanicus, although he had a son of his own named Drusus. Agrippa Postumus and Tiberius were for some time the heirs-apparent of Augustus; but the disgrace and death of the former, on account of his untractable conduct, left the latter without a rival; and during the last ten years of the reign of Augustus, he was the declared successor to the imperial power. During the greater part of these ten years, Tiberius was actively engaged in suppressing formidable insurrections in Illyria and Pannonia, which gave great alarm

to the Romans. Scarcely were these wars brought to a close, when news was received that a Roman army of 24,000 men, under the command of a general named Varus, had been totally defeated by a German patriot named Arminius (Herman), on its march through those territories between the Rhine and the Elbe which had been apparently subjugated in the former German war. Such was the disinclination to military service which thirty years of peace had generated, that it was with the utmost difficulty that a force could be levied sufficient to arrest the career of the Germans. Leaving Germanicus in Gaul, Tiberius returned to Italy in 765; and not long afterwards, he was called to the sovereignty by the death of Augustus, which took place at Nola in Campania, in his seventy-sixth year, on the 19th of August 767. The aged emperor died calmly, as he had lived. 'Have I not,' said he on his deathbed, 'played the farce of life well?'

407. The reign of Tiberius, who assumed the purple, or imperial robe, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, extended from A.D. 14 to A.D. 37, and was marked by no event of historical consequence, if we except the German wars, carried on in the early part of it by Germanicus. The virtues and popularity of his adopted son, however, displeased Tiberius, whose bad qualities, among which jealousy and cruelty were conspicuous, had become more apparent since his elevation to power; and in the midst of his successes, Germanicus was recalled, to be sent into Asia. Here he died, A. D. 19, in his thirty-fifth year, not without suspicion of having been poisoned. He left by his wife Agrippina, the daughter of Julia and Agrippa, and the only worthy member of that family, six children. Three of these were sons; and the youngest of them, Caius, had been nicknamed Caligula by the soldiers of his father. After the death of Germanicus, the conduct of Tiberius became quite tyrannical. Prosecutions for the crime of *læsa majestas*—that is, for offences against the dignity of the state, as represented in the emperor—became common; and the senate acquired the fatal habit of condemning all who were accused. Rendered still more independent by

the death of his mother Livia, who exercised great influence over him, he gave himself up, in his old age, to the indulgence of the most brutal passions; living in haughty retirement, and allowing his favourite, Ælius Sejanus, whom he had appointed prefect of the Prætorian Guards, to govern in his name. Sejanus, aiming at the sovereignty, contrived the death of Drusus, and the disgrace of the widow and two elder sons of Germanicus; and having prevailed on Tiberius to fix his abode in the island of Capreæ, in the Bay of Naples, he continued, by means of the Prætorian soldiers, whose numbers he had increased, to act as absolute master in Rome. For three years Sejanus retained his power in the city, and the emperor persisted in his debasing sensualities at Capreæ. At length (A. D. 31), informed of the treacherous intentions of his favourite, Tiberius despatched to Rome a timid order for his arrest. The senate, exulting in the downfall of the tyrannical prefect, hastened his execution; and a soldier named Macro succeeded to the command of the Prætorian Guards. Inquisitions and massacres followed the death of Sejanus; the widow of Germanicus and her two elder sons were put to death; Macro was but another Sejanus; and during the remainder of his life, the disgusting old man at Capreæ seemed to have lost every vestige of reason or virtue. Caligula, the youngest son of Germanicus, was adopted as his grandson, and associated in the right of succession with Tiberius the son of Drusus, and consequently the emperor's grandson by blood. Ambitious to reign, Caligula, who, even in early youth, exhibited his monstrous propensity to all kinds of vice, conspired with Macro to accelerate the emperor's death; and on the 16th March A. D. 37, Tiberius was strangled in his bed at Micenum, lest he should recover from a lethargy into which he had suddenly fallen. An event, remarkable in the history of the human race, took place in the reign of this worthless despot—namely, the crucifixion of Christ at Jerusalem. According to the most probable chronology, this event took place in the year of Rome 784, sixty years after the establishment of the Empire, and seventeen after the accession of Tiberius.

408. Caligula reigned four years in such a manner, that it is necessary to suppose him to have been insane. Crimes of the most unnatural description, and freaks in which he indulged in the most lavish expense, were the daily occupation of this degenerate son of the good Germanicus. In the end he was murdered by the officers of the Prætorian Guards, whose power alone had kept him in his seat.

409. After the death of Caligula (A. D. 41), his uncle Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, was declared emperor by the Prætorians, contrary to the chimerical wishes of some that the republic should be restored. He had already reached the age of fifty, and his reign extended over fourteen years. In consequence of ill-treatment in his youth, his naturally good disposition had never fully developed itself, and his conduct during his reign was that of a timid, half-witted man, with considerable talents, which he could not use, and an affectionate temper, which made him the tool of those who chose to take advantage of it. His wife Messalina was a woman of the most abandoned character, and under her influence he was guilty of many cruelties. At length, conspiring against her husband's life, she was put to death, and Claudius received a second wife of similar character, in his own niece Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and the sister of Caligula. Agrippina, anxious to secure the Empire for her son Domitius Nero, by a former husband, induced Claudius to *adopt* him, although he had a son of his own named Britannicus. This object gained, the wicked woman accelerated Nero's accession by poisoning her husband. It was in the reign of the unfortunate Claudius (A. D. 44) that the Roman power was first established in Britain. Claudius himself had led the expedition into that island, and defeating the natives, had conferred the title of a Roman province on a considerable territory south of the Thames.

410. Educated by Burrus, a soldier of severe virtue, and by the philosopher Seneca—the most remarkable literary man who had appeared since the age of Augustus—Nero, who was only in his eighteenth year when he succeeded Claudius (A. D. 54), did not at first display the inherent depravity of his disposition. After a few years, however,

his natural profligacy overbore all restraint, and his own mother Agrippina was one of the first victims of his cruelty. Britannicus, Burrus, and many others, were put to death by his orders; and during the latter part of his reign, his licentiousness, his extravagance, and his thirst for blood passed all limits. He possessed, however, considerable talents, and some literary taste; and, vain of his proficiency in music, he not only disgraced the imperial dignity by performing as a singer in one of the theatres of Italy, and afterwards singing publicly in Rome, but even undertook a tour through Greece, to exhibit his powers to the most competent judges. In the eleventh year of his reign (A. D. 64), Rome was almost entirely destroyed by a conflagration, which lasted six days and seven nights, and which some attributed to his diabolical cruelty. The new city, which speedily rose out of the ruins of the old, was built on a better plan; the streets, in particular, were more spacious. Not long after the burning of the capital, a conspiracy formed against the emperor's life was discovered, and the conspirators, among whom Seneca appeared to be included, were punished with death. Although this conspiracy failed, and the fidelity of the Prætorians seemed to guarantee the continuation of Nero's power, it was soon afterwards brought to a close by an insurrection of the Gaulish and Spanish armies, who were tired of so detestable a ruler. Declared emperor by his troops, Sulpicius Galba, who commanded in Spain, marched at their head towards Rome; and Nero, deserted by the prætorians, and condemned by the senate, concealed himself in the house of a freedman, where he reluctantly committed suicide (A. D. 68). 'What an artist is lost!' was his exclamation a few minutes before his death.

411. Galba, who was seventy-two years of age at the time of his elevation, did not reign long. After seven months, he and a youth whom he had adopted as his successor were slain in a tumult excited by one of Nero's favourites, named Salvius Otho, who was immediately invested with the sovereignty. Otho's reign was likewise short: the German legions, refusing to acknowledge him as emperor, proclaimed their commander, Aulus Vitellius,

whom Galba had sent into Germany on his accession; and at length, in a battle fought near Mantua, between the Othonian and the Vitellian forces, victory declared for the latter. Otho committed suicide, and Vitellius remained emperor. Vitellius, who was remarkable only for his beastly gluttony, enjoyed his imperial banquets only eight months; for the army of the Empire having come to regard themselves as the constituency of the emperor, the legions stationed in Asia asserted their rights by rejecting the candidate of the German legions, and nominating one of their own. The object of their choice was Titus Flavius Sabinus Vespasianus, a man of obscure family, but eminent abilities, who had been sent by Nero into Judæa (A. D. 67) to suppress a formidable revolt of the Jews, occasioned by the tyranny of the Roman procurators, by whom, in subordination to the prefect of Syria, they had been successively governed since the reduction of their country from the condition of an attached dependency to that of an ordinary province, nine years after the death of Herod the Great (A. D. 13). The example of the Eastern legions was infectious; the Mæsian and Pannonian legions revolted in favour of Vespasian, and marched against Rome. There an insurrection had also broken out; and when Vespasian, who had left his elder son Titus in Judæa to carry on the war, arrived in Italy, he found the struggle already over, Vitellius killed, and himself emperor in his sixty-first year.

412. The beneficial reign of Vespasian, who was, on the whole, a just and vigilant ruler, lasted nine years (A. D. 70-79), during the latter part of which his son Titus exercised a considerable share of the supreme power. This prince is celebrated as the conqueror of the Jews; and the terrible siege of Jerusalem, which he conducted for six months, and which ended in the burning of the temple, the destruction of the city, the death, sale, or dispersion of the heroic defenders, and the almost total annihilation of the Jews as a nation, is the subject of one of the narratives of the Jewish historian Josephus.

413. Titus succeeded his father in his thirty-seventh year, and died in his fortieth, after a reign of scarcely three years

(A. D. 81). In his reign the Colosseum, an amphitheatre containing sitting-room for 87,000 spectators, and whose gigantic ruins astonish every one who visits Rome, was completed and dedicated; it had been designed and nearly finished, however, by Vespasian. Another event which distinguished the reign of Titus was the terrible eruption of Mount Vesuvius, by which (August, A. D. 79) the two cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum were overwhelmed, to be disinterred seventeen centuries later for the instruction of wondering posterity. Titus was succeeded by his younger brother Domitian, who reigned as a moody and melancholy tyrant for fifteen years (A. D. 81–96). During his reign wars were carried on in Dacia, in Germany, and also in Britain, where Cneius Julius Agricola, to whom Vespasian had assigned the command in that island, extended the Roman power as far north as the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Domitian was murdered, at the instigation of his wife Domitia, by a number of the prætorian officers, who feared that he intended to put them to death. The senate were allowed, in the confusion, to nominate his successor. They chose one of their own number, a venerable senator, of Italian birth, named Marcus Cocceius Nerva.

414. The best act of Nerva's short and mild reign of sixteen months, was his choice of a successor in Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, a Spaniard by birth, who, after a life of active and honourable service, had been appointed by Domitian to the command of the forces in Germany. Trajan reigned nineteen years (A. D. 98–117), and is perhaps, on the whole, to be considered as the greatest of the Roman emperors. For nearly two hundred years after his death, it was the custom of the senate to hail every new emperor with the salutation—'May you be as fortunate as Augustus, and as virtuous as Trajan!' Of a martial and enterprising spirit, he revived the project of Julius Cæsar; and in two great wars which he conducted—the first against the Dacians (A. D. 101–6), the second against the Parthians, at a considerably later period—he extended the frontiers of the Empire as far as the Carpathian Mountains in the one direction, and the Persian Gulf in the other.

He even meditated, it is said, the conquest of India, and the addition to the Empire of all the countries which had acknowledged the sway of Alexander the Great. As a governor, he showed abilities equal to those which he displayed as a warrior. Just, vigilant, and affable, provincials and Italians alike esteemed him, and thought themselves fortunate in having been born in so happy a time. Although he made a great reduction in the taxes of the Empire, yet, by strict economy in the finances, he was able to adorn Rome and other great cities with many magnificent architectural works, under one of which—a pillar 150 feet high, erected in the Forum Ulpium, in the midst of a number of noble government-offices which he had built—his own ashes were interred, having been brought for that purpose from Cilicia, where he died at the age of sixty-three. The pillar, with its sculptures, exhibiting the leading actions of Trajan's reign, still exists, and is called Trajan's Pillar.

415. The successor of Trajan was his cousin and countryman, Publius Ælius Hadrianus. Hadrian reigned twenty-one years (A. D. 117–138), and showed himself in all respects a worthy successor to Trajan. Not the least wise of his actions was his relinquishment of Trajan's Eastern conquests, the cost of maintaining which would have been too great. By this concession the Euphrates became once more the eastern boundary of the Empire; the Dacian conquests of Trajan, however, remained attached to the Empire for a century and a half longer. Hadrian was a man of extraordinary activity and versatility of genius. It has been remarked that he was the first emperor who understood his real position as the governor of the civilised world, and not merely the sovereign of Italy. Accordingly, he spent his time in travelling through the provinces and inspecting their condition; and probably, from Egypt to the borders of Scotland, there was no portion of his vast dominions which he did not visit. Towards Greece he showed a special regard. Hadrian was likewise the first emperor who purchased tranquillity for his empire by paying money to the barbarians on the frontier, to keep them quiet. His reign was one of profound

peace, the only war of consequence during it being a bloody one carried on against the Jews, who, rendered desperate by their misfortunes, had risen in open rebellion (A.D. 134), under a pretended Messiah called Barkochab, to prevent the establishment of a Roman colony in Jerusalem, or, as it was now called, *Ælia Capitolina.* This was the death-blow to the Jewish nation, so far as their territorial connection with Palestine was concerned. Vast numbers were killed or sold as slaves, and those who dispersed themselves were forbidden, on pain of death, ever to approach within sight of Jerusalem. In the last years of his life, Hadrian, suffering under a lingering disease, which rendered him peevish and melancholy, was guilty of many cruel acts. Few emperors, however, earned a better title to regard and gratitude; and it deserves to be mentioned specially to his honour, that in his reign several laws were passed for the amelioration of the condition of slaves. His genuine concern for the interests of the Empire was exhibited in his selection of a virtuous senator, named Titus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, to be his successor, causing him to adopt his wife's nephew, Marcus Annius Verus. His design was to secure for the Empire, if possible, two good reigns after his own.

416. The reigns of Trajan and Hadrian close what may be called the first epoch of the history of the Empire. During the hundred and twenty-four years which had elapsed between the death of Augustus and that of Hadrian, the various populations of the Empire had of course undergone a more thorough intertexture, if not intermixture; and so beneficial was the imperial system as compared with that which it had superseded, that even under such emperors as Caligula and Nero, the general condition of the provinces may be said to have been prosperous. From the death of Augustus to the reign of Domitian, a decided deterioration both of intellectual power and of moral feeling had been manifest over the Empire. The Greek rhetoricians, who flocked to Rome in the age of Augustus, had exercised a vicious effect upon the literary taste of the Romans; and for seventy or eighty years, affected ver-

bosity of language and destitution of thought were the substitutes for the flowing periods and polished wit of the Augustan writers. During this period, out of some thirty or forty writers whose names are preserved, the only five who need be specially mentioned are Lucius Annæus Seneca, the Stoic philosopher, who, as has been already mentioned, fell a victim to the cruelty of Nero; Seneca's nephew, Marcus Annæus Lucanus, who was put to death by Nero on the same occasion, leaving behind him, under the title of *Pharsalia*, an epic poem on the war between Cæsar and Pompey; Caius Plinius Secundus, commonly called Pliny the elder, the greatest, and indeed almost the only Roman naturalist, and whose remarkable death, while observing the great eruption of Vesuvius (A. D. 79), was a fitting close to a life spent in the acquisition of knowledge; Aulus Persius Flaccus, a satirist; and Caius Silius Italicus, who, in imitation of Ennius and Lucan, wrote an epic poem on the second Punic War. The productions of these writers, and especially of the poets Lucan and Silius Italicus, exhibit the decline of genuine taste under the influence of the rhetoricians.

417. In the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81-96) a sudden revival took place; and the interval between that emperor's accession and the death of Hadrian (A. D. 138) is the epoch of a splendid burst of fresh intellect. This revival of literature was perhaps the effect of an improved tone of moral feeling which began to appear in the age of Domitian, the result, doubtless, of the grief with which the retrospect of so many fearful reigns must have infected all minds not thoroughly depraved. Patronised by Domitian, Marcus Fabius Quinctilianus, a teacher of rhetoric, delivered many sensible precepts, which had a powerful effect in restoring a better literary taste. Contemporaries of Quinctilian, but considerably younger than he, were Tacitus, Pliny the younger, Statius, Martial, Juvenal, and Suetonius, besides others of less note. The lives of these writers extended over the three consecutive reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. Of them all, the greatest by far is the historian Caius Cornelius Tacitus, whose annals and biographies exhibit a combination of deep

thought, noble feeling, and dense and glowing language, of which there is probably no other example in literature, if we except the Greek historian Thucydides. Pliny the younger, the nephew of Pliny the naturalist, was an amiable and cultivated man, whose letters, though they show much vanity in the writer, are extremely interesting as pictures of the times. An epic poem of Statius, entitled *Thebais*, is far inferior to his little occasional poems called *Silvæ*. Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis), a Spaniard by birth, is known as the author of an immense number of witty and pointed epigrams. In genius, however, he is immeasurably below Juvenal (Decius Junius Juvenalis), whose fierce and scourging satires, written in pure Latin, depict in gross colours the vices of the age. Suetonius (Caius Suetonius Tranquillus) wrote lives of the twelve Cæsars, from Julius Cæsar to Domitian inclusive, which are valuable not so much for their merit as compositions, as for the anecdotes and gossip which they contain. That the revival of literature, which was marked by the rise of such writers as these, arose from some change in the moral atmosphere of the whole Empire, is evident from the fact, that Greek literature—that is, the literature of the Greek portion of the Roman world—experienced a revival about the same time. The last Greek writers of consequence had been the historian and critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who flourished in the age of Augustus, and the geographer Strabo, who lived not long after. In the reign of Domitian, however, appeared the rhetorician Dion Chrysostom, a man of brilliant abilities, and master of the purest Attic Greek. He was followed by the celebrated Plutarch of Chæronea, whose biographies of the great characters of antiquity, although very defective as historical compositions, are among the most delightful books which have been preserved to us. Curiously enough, while the impulse which Latin literature had received in the reign of Domitian spent itself before the death of Trajan, the impulse which Greek literature had received at the same time lasted throughout the reign of Hadrian. During his reign flourished the sceptical wit Lucian, the physician Galen, and the historian Pausanias. The reign

of Hadrian, however, forms an era in the history of Roman jurisprudence, on account of the publication during it of the famous standard compilation of Roman law entitled 'Edictum Perpetuum.'

418. The reigns of the two men whom Hadrian had designated as his successors — Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138-161), and Marcus Annius Verus, or, as he was called, in consequence of his adoption, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A. D. 161-180)—were a continuation of happiness for the Empire, so that 'the age of the Antonines' has become the standard expression for the most tranquil period of later Roman history. The former of the two, Antoninus Pius, was a man of unblemished character, although of ordinary abilities; the second, Marcus Aurelius, was one of the sublimest patterns of human virtue which the pagan world has furnished. Embracing the Stoic philosophy in early youth, he obeyed its maxims throughout his whole life, attending to the duties of his station with punctuality and zeal, and universally adored by his subjects on account of his exemplary behaviour. In his reign, or in that of his predecessor, flourished the Greek writers Appian, Sextus Empiricus, Arrian, the editor of the discourses of his master the celebrated Stoic philosopher Epictetus; the Roman jurist Gaius; and the Latin authors Aulus Gellius the antiquarian, Cornelius Fronto the rhetorician, and Lucius Appuleius, a philosophic writer of great genius. Marcus Aurelius himself wrote *Meditations* in Greek, in which his pious and humble spirit is strikingly exhibited. Noble as was the character of Aurelius, misfortunes seemed to hover over his reign. In the beginning of it (A. D. 167) a dreadful pestilence raged, which swept away a large proportion of the population of the Empire; and before he died, the Germans and the Parthians had begun to make formidable assaults on the frontiers. In his domestic relations, likewise, he was unhappy. His wife Faustina, the daughter of his predecessor, was a vicious and abandoned woman, although, fortunately, the knowledge of her character was spared to her husband. He was spared also a still severer affliction, in dying before his son Commodus

had displayed the enormous profligacy of his character. After a reign of twelve years (A. D. 180-192), spent in wretched exhibitions of gladiatorial and athletic skill, this unworthy son of a good father was assassinated by his concubine and some of the prætorian officers, in the thirty-second year of his age.

419. Of the sixteen successors of Augustus, from Tiberius to Commodus inclusive, all, with the exception of Claudius, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Nerva, had obtained the Empire in what may be called a constitutional manner; that is, each of them, after having been recognised as the heir-apparent for some time at least before his predecessor's death, had ultimately been invested by the senate with the imperial dignity, and openly or tacitly accepted by the army. Of the six exceptions, one (Nerva) had been nominated by the senate; the other five had been forced upon the senate by the army, or at least by portions of it. The Senate and the Army had come to be the two houses of legislature, if we may so speak, recognised by the imperial constitution. The former, the number of which continued to be about 600, was composed of citizens of wealth, experience, and distinction, drawn from Italy and the provinces, the dignity being for life, and the power of filling up vacancies belonging to the emperor. The senatorship, therefore, constituted a species of peerage; and when it was conferred on some wealthy citizen of the provinces as a mark of the emperor's favour, he was obliged to take up his residence in Rome, and, if possible, acquire property in Italy. In ordinary times, these assembled peers were little more than registrars of the imperial decrees; occasionally, however, under an emperor like Trajan or Marcus Aurelius, or when inspired by some sudden access of patriotic feeling, they exercised a considerable degree of independent legislative influence. On the death of an emperor, however, who had appointed no successor, the army was more likely than the senate to exercise the right of election; not only because, being composed of citizens drawn from all parts of the Empire, it might be regarded as a rude representative body, expressing the wishes of the

widely-scattered millions, but also because the main ingredient in the dignity of the emperor was that implied in the name itself—that is, supreme military command. Accordingly, the exceptions above-mentioned were forced upon the senate by this or that portion of the army—Claudius, by the prætorian; Galba, by the Spanish; Otho, again, by the prætorian; Vitellius, by the German; and Vespasian, by the Asiatic legions. Even when the emperor succeeded constitutionally, and without the violent help of any part of the army, it was customary to make a tacit acknowledgment of the right of the army to interfere, by making a present of money, at least to the prætorians, who were on the spot, and whose good-will, therefore, it was necessary for the emperor to secure. This habit of bestowing a largess on the troops produced a double effect—it increased the consciousness which the army possessed of its own power, and made it an object of mercenary interest to change the emperors as frequently as possible.

420. For ninety-two years (A.D. 192-284) after the death of Commodus, this influence manifested itself; and during that period no fewer than twenty-two emperors—almost all of whom were violently elected, either by the prætorians or by other portions of the army—reigned in rapid succession. It will be sufficient barely to mention the names of these, and the length of their reigns. Pertinax, a veteran commander, was nominated by the prætorians (January 193), and murdered by them eighty-six days afterwards, his place being filled by a rich senator, Salvius Julianus, who offered a larger donative for the honour than any one else was inclined to give. The British, the Asiatic, and the Pannonian armies, proposed each a counter-candidate; and the Pannonian one, Lucius Septimius Severus, born in the Punic part of Africa, obtained the purple by defeating the others. Severus governed well for eighteen years (A.D. 193-211), and dying at York at the age of sixty-five, left two sons, the elder of whom, Bassianus, or, as he was nicknamed, Caracalla, murdered the younger, Geta, and afterwards ruled alone for six years (A.D. 211-217). Brutal in his character and conduct, the only action of Caracalla's reign

deserving notice was his conferring the Roman franchise on all the subjects of the Empire, a measure which he adopted as a means of reconciling the provincials to a new tax. Murdered by Macrinus, the captain of the prætorians, he was succeeded, after a short interval, during which Macrinus reigned, by the grandson of his aunt, a Syrian youth named Avitus, or, according to his assumed name, Heliogabalus, whom, at the instigation of his grandmother, the army of Asia raised to the Empire. After an obscene and contemptible reign of four years (A. D. 218-222), Heliogabalus was slain by the prætorians, to make way for his cousin Alexander Severus, a youthful Asiatic of the most amiable character. During thirteen years (A. D. 222-235), Alexander governed with much ability, carrying on wars against the celebrated Artaxerxes, who, having abolished the Parthian dynasty, and founded the new Persian empire on its ruins, had laid claim to a large portion of the eastern dominions of the Romans; and also against the Germans, who, after pressing long against the northern boundary of the Empire, had ultimately ventured to break through it. Murdered by his troops near the Rhine, on account of some offence which he had given them, Alexander was succeeded by Maximinus, a Goth of gigantic stature and herculean strength, who, although totally illiterate, had risen, by his abilities as a soldier, to high distinction. After a tyrannical reign of three years (A. D. 235-238), spent on the northern frontier, Maximin was killed by his troops while on his march to Rome to crush an insurrection against his authority, headed by the senate, who had nominated two of their number, Pupienus and Balbinus, emperors. Assassinated in their turn, the two senators made way for Gordianus, a young man whose father and grandfather had fallen in Africa in a revolt against Maximin. Gordian, after a reign of five years (A. D. 238-243), was murdered by the captain of the prætorians, an Arab by birth, named Julius Philippus, who, having appointed an Illyrian named Caius Messius Decius to the command of the Pannonian legions, was by him defeated and superseded, after a reign of six years (A. D. 243-249). Killed in a battle against

the invading Goths (A. D. 251), Decius was succeeded by Gallus, the governor of Mæsia, who had reigned little more than a year when he was set aside by Æmilianus, a Moor by birth. In four months the death of Gallus was avenged by Publius Licinius Valerianus, a senator of reputation, who, on assuming the imperial power, adopted his son Gallienus as his colleague. Valerian ended a disastrous reign of seven years (A. D. 253–260) as a captive in Persia, having been defeated and taken prisoner when endeavouring to repel an invasion of the Persian monarch Sapor, the son of Artaxerxes. The indolent and voluptuous Gallienus survived his father eight years (A. D. 260–268), a period which it has been usual to designate 'The Period of the Thirty Tyrants,' on account of the number of competitors who then offered themselves for the purple; some in the northern provinces, where the ravages of the Germans called forth the energies of various adventurers —some in the East, where the terror of Persian invasion occasioned a similar state of things. Of these adventurers, one, Odenathus, the king or chieftain of Palmyra, was acknowledged by Gallienus as his colleague, and intrusted with the government of the East. Assassinated (A. D. 268) while besieging another of his rivals in Milan, Gallienus was succeeded by Aurelius Claudius, who, after a vigorous reign of two years, during which he drove back an immense body of the Goths, was cut off by a pestilence (A. D. 270). His successor, one of his generals, named Aurelianus, did much to restore the unity and strength of the Empire. Defeating Zenobia, the heroic widow of Odenathus, who aimed at the establishment of an Eastern empire, of which Palmyra should be the capital, and Tetricus, one of the surviving adventurers, who had preserved his power over Britain and Gaul, he saved the Empire from dismemberment; and by the additional precaution of surrendering the untenable province of Dacia to the Goths, he purchased a temporary security from their attacks. He was murdered when marching against the Persians (A. D. 275), and his successors were Tacitus, a senator (A. D. 275–6), Florianus, the brother of Tacitus (A. D. 276), Probus, an able man, who ruled for six years

(A. D. 276–282), and Carus, who, after a short reign, was struck dead by lightning while invading Persia (A. D. 283). After a brief struggle for the vacant supremacy, fortune decided in favour of Caius Valerius Diocletianus, a Dalmatian of humble birth, who had risen by his abilities to high military rank.

421. The reign of Diocletian (A. D. 284–305) forms an epoch in the history of the Empire. Of a mild disposition, and possessed of the genius of a statesman, Diocletian, after a calm consideration of the condition of the Empire, resolved on a fourfold division of it, according to the following system:—The East and the West, which had long been spontaneously tending to separation, were to be governed independently, each by an emperor. These two emperors, who were to be called *Augusti*, were to have each a coadjutor and successor, whose designation should be *Cæsar*. Carrying this refined, though somewhat too formal scheme into execution, Diocletian (A. D. 286) assumed as his colleague his former comrade in arms, Maximianus, a brave and rough soldier, over whom he continued to exercise the influence of a superior mind. Choosing the East for his own share of the Empire, Diocletian established his residence at Nicomedia in Bithynia, where he introduced into his court all the formalities of Oriental state; Maximian, as Augustus of the West, resided in Milan. The names of *Jovius* and *Herculius*, which the two emperors respectively assumed, indicate the difference of the characters which they were to maintain—Diocletian the presiding wisdom, Maximian the warlike strength, of the Empire. Six years afterwards (A. D. 292), the remainder of Diocletian's scheme was carried into practice by the appointment of the two Cæsars—Galerius, who had once been an Illyrian cowherd, to be Cæsar of the East, relieving Diocletian of the government of Pannonia and Mæsia; and Constantius, an Illyrian of noble birth, to be Cæsar of the West, relieving Maximian of Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Mauritania. On their accession, the two Cæsars were obliged to divorce their wives, and marry—Galerius the daughter of Diocletian; and Constantius the stepdaughter of Maximian.

422. Having thus completed an arrangement, one of the chief effects of which was to reduce the consequence of Italy, already much diminished by the frequent and long absences of the emperors, many of whom preferred residing in the provinces, Diocletian, anxious apparently to witness a full trial of the scheme in all its parts, voluntarily resigned his authority in the year 305, and compelled his colleague Maximian to do the same. The two Cæsars then became Augusti—Galerius of the East, and Constantius of the West. Galerius, as the elder Augustus, nominated two new Cæsars without consulting his colleague—Maximinus Daza for himself, and Flavius Severus for Constantius. Constantius and Diocletian acquiesced in this arrangement; but Maximian, who had resigned his power with reluctance, induced the senate to substitute his son Maxentius for Severus, at the same time resuming his own authority as Augustus. The prætorians added the title of Augustus to that of Cæsar, already conferred on Maxentius. Imitating their conduct, the British legions, on the death of Constantius at York (A. D. 306), proclaimed as emperor his son Flavius Valerius Constantinus, the offspring of his marriage with his first wife Helena. Constantine, who was then in his thirty-third year, had served in the armies of Diocletian, and had already acquired a great reputation for ability and virtue. Galerius refused to acknowledge Constantine as Augustus, but conferred that title on Severus; and, after the death of Severus, in an attempt to crush Maxentius, on another friend, Caius Licinius. Maximin, the only remaining Cæsar, immediately caused his troops to proclaim him Augustus; and thus there were at one time no fewer than six Augusti—Galerius, Licinius, and Maximin on the one side, combined against Maximian, Maxentius, and Constantine, who had married the daughter of Maximian, on the other. Such a confusion, instead of the order which he had expected, must have been a bitter disappointment to Diocletian; he refused, however, to interfere in the government, and continued to enjoy a calm old age in his native Dalmatia. 'Could you but see the cabbages I have planted at Salona,' he said to Maximian, 'you would no longer press me to resume my power!'

423. Maximian, driven from Italy by his son Maxentius, sought refuge with his son-in-law Constantine in Gaul. He was kindly received, but having been detected forming plans against Constantine, was ultimately put to death (A. D. 310). Galerius died in the following year; and in the next, Maxentius was slain in a battle fought at the gates of Rome between his troops and those of Constantine, who had been invited into Italy by the senate and people, eager to exchange the administration of Maxentius for that under which they saw Gaul so flourishing. Constantine was thus master of the West; and a contest having taken place between Licinius and Maximin, in which the latter was defeated, there remained but two survivors out of the six Augusti—Constantine in the West, and Licinius in the East. With a single interruption in the year 314, the two emperors remained on terms of friendship till the year 323, when a war broke out between them, which terminated in the death of Licinius, and the elevation of Constantine to the sole sovereignty of the Empire (A. D. 324). Constantine, who had already ruled for eighteen years (A. D. 306-324) in the capacity of joint emperor, continued in possession of the higher dignity, to which the successive deaths of his colleagues had promoted him during a farther period of thirteen years (A. D. 324-337). Both portions of his reign were distinguished by measures which entitle him to the name by which he is usually designated in history—Constantine the Great. The two actions, however, by which, above all, he rendered his reign memorable, were his formal recognition of Christianity, and his transference of the seat of Empire from Rome to Constantinople (A. D. 328). And here a brief retrospective glance is necessary.

424. From the crucifixion of Christ (A. D. 31) to the accession of Constantine to the sovereignty of the Roman world (A. D. 324), there had elapsed an interval of two hundred and ninety-three years. During this period, the religion which had originally been professed but by a small and despised sect among the Jews, had extended itself gradually over the whole Roman Empire. The dispersion of

the Jews through the Empire, previous to the promulgation of Christianity, greatly facilitated this result. Taking their departure from Jerusalem, the early apostles or missionaries of the Christian faith had proceeded to all parts of the Empire; and in every town where there was a Jewish synagogue, they had an opportunity of making themselves heard. Not, however, until Paul had set the example, did the early missionaries from Jerusalem seek for converts among the Gentiles of the various towns which they visited. By the indefatigable exertions of this apostle, Christian churches had been formed in all the principal towns of Syria, Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece, within a period of thirty years after the death of Christ. It was later before the new doctrines were disseminated in the West, if we except Rome itself, the church of which ranks next in point of time to those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Smyrna, Athens, and Corinth. Each church, when planted, became a centre from which the new faith diffused itself through the surrounding district. For a considerable period the various churches existed quite apart from each other, but finally they were confederated, and became subject to a uniform rule.

425. It was impossible for such a society as that of the Christian church to spring up and spread itself, without coming into conflict with the system of civil polity by which the Roman Empire was held together. Accordingly, numerous persecutions, some of them general, and others local, are recorded by historians as having taken place in the interval between the first propagation of Christianity and its establishment by Constantine. The first of these took place in the reign of Nero, who, in order to avert from himself the public indignation, which had been roused by the suspicion that he had caused the great fire which consumed the city, cast the blame upon the Christians, and put many of them to a painful death. The next persecution was in the reign of Domitian, when some citizens of distinction were put to death on a charge of 'atheism and Jewish manners.' In the reign of Trajan (A. D. 98-117), considerable excitement seems to have prevailed throughout the Empire on the subject of Christianity, occasioned

partly by the clamours of the populace in many towns against the Christians, and partly by the suspicion in which they were held by the authorities, on account of their secluded manner of life, their aversion to public sports and to military service, and above all, their secret meetings for the purpose of worship. The Emperor Hadrian (A. D. 117-138) appears to have taken a philosophic interest in the Christian religion; and his successors, down to Decius (A. D. 249), were, upon the whole, tolerant towards it, with the exception perhaps of Marcus Aurelius, whose very virtue and strictness of principle as a pagan disposed him to deal severely with what he regarded as a dangerous innovation on the ancient faith. Some of the emperors, as, for instance, Septimius Severus (A. D. 193-211), seem even to have patronised Christianity, adopting some of its rites out of a superstitious feeling. The short reign of Decius (A. D. 249-251) was a time of severe persecution; the bishops of many of the principal towns were put to death, or otherwise punished, by his orders, and his purpose seemed to be to compel a general return to the religion of the Empire. From the reign of Decius to that of Diocletian (A. D. 251-284), the Christians enjoyed almost uninterrupted peace; and in the early part of Diocletian's reign they were permitted to fill offices of public trust, and to exercise that influence in general society to which their numbers, their abilities, their worth, and in many cases even their wealth and rank, entitled them. Towards the close of his reign, however, Diocletian was persuaded, by his fiercer and more impetuous colleague Galerius, to deviate from his usual mild and thoughtful policy; and in the year 303, an edict was issued which occasioned a general persecution of the Christians throughout the Empire. Their churches were demolished, the sacred writings burnt, and multitudes paid the penalty of their faith by undergoing martyrdom—some by crucifixion, some by exposure to wild beasts in the amphitheatre, some by a slow death at the stake. Christianity, however, had already penetrated every portion of the Empire: every town, every village, every little cluster of families, had been impregnated by it; and although it had been less widely dis-

seminated in the West than in the East, it is calculated that of the entire population of the Empire a twentieth part must have been Christians. To extirpate Christianity by persecution was therefore manifestly impossible, and of this even Galerius became convinced before he died. Accordingly, after a stormy period of persecution under the various sovereigns among whom the Empire was divided after the resignation of Diocletian, with the exception of Constantius, who seems to have been uniformly tolerant, the Christians again enjoyed repose in the year 311. The greatest triumph of their faith, however, was the defeat of Maxentius in 312 by Constantine, and the subsequent partition of the Empire between that emperor and Licinius. Inheriting his father's tolerant disposition, Constantine had, even while a professed polytheist, shown himself friendly towards the Christians; but from the time of his accession to the sovereignty of the West, the interest which he took in Christianity was of a deeper and more personal character. About the year 312, he was converted to the Christian faith—an event of great importance, for it led to the establishment of Christianity first in the West (A. D. 313), and afterwards over the whole Empire (A. D. 324). The pagan worship was not prohibited, although some of the pagan practices, such as concubinage, gladiator-fights, the use of crucifixion as a punishment, &c. were legally abolished; but the general tendency of Constantine's legislation was to encourage Christianity, and elevate the social status of those who professed it, and especially of the clergy.

426. Besides coming into contact with the political regulations of the Empire, Christianity, in its progress during three centuries, had also come into conflict with the various systems of belief which had been previously diffused through the Roman world. These may be enumerated as follows:—1st, The prevailing polytheism of the Empire, whether the gross polytheism of the common people, or the more refined polytheism of some of the philosophers—as, for instance, the Stoics; 2d, Scepticism, by which term may be expressed the mental condition of a limited number of individuals, most of them Epicureans and wits, scattered through the

Empire, who had emancipated themselves from the vulgar faith in Jupiter, Juno, &c. without having embraced any distinct substitute; 3d, Judaism, professed by the Jews dispersed through the Empire; 4th, The Oriental Gnosis, or religion of the Magi, which, originating in Persia, had been extensively disseminated in later times over the eastern portions of the Empire; and 5th, Neo-Platonism, a mystic philosophy which had originated among the Jews of Alexandria before the Christian era, and which consisted in a blending of the ideas and images of the Hebrew Scriptures, more especially the prophecies, with the highest and most recondite doctrines of the Greek philosopher Plato. Addressed to the polytheists and the sceptics, Christianity had been either received in its purity, or totally rejected; its converts attempting no modification of it, but endeavouring at once to conform to its requisitions by laying aside their pagan practices; while those who remained unconvinced, either joined the mob in clamouring against it, or attacked it by argument, whether with the tongue or the pen. Not so, however, when addressed to the Jews, the Gnostics, and the Neo-Platonists. By them Christianity had been either received or rejected: but when it was received, it was not accepted as a system displacing their own; it was incorporated with the ideas they already held, or at least deeply tinctured with them. Hence the multitude of divisions and heresies by which the church of the first three centuries was distracted.

427. The practical discourses addressed by the Christian bishops and teachers to their flocks, or to their brethren at a distance; the apologies for Christianity against the attacks of polytheists, sceptics, and Jews; and the polemical writings published by the various Christian sects against each other's errors, whether in doctrine or discipline—these compositions formed a new literature in the declining age of Rome. Omitting the Gnostic and other heretical writers, whose works in general have perished, we may mention the names of the twelve *Primitive Christian Fathers*, as they are called—that is, the twelve most important Christian writers of the second and third centuries. These are—Clement, bishop of Rome (died A. D. 100), who

wrote a letter to the Corinthian church; Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, a disciple of the apostles, who was exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Rome in the reign of Trajan (A. D. 107), and who has left various epistles; Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and author of an epistle to the Philippians (suffered martyrdom in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, A. D. 167); Justin, a native of Palestine, and the author of various defences of the Christian faith against polytheists, Jews, and Gnostic heretics (martyred at Rome in the reign of Marcus Antoninus); Theophilus, elected bishop of Antioch about the year 169, author of an apology for Christianity, addressed to a pagan; Irenæus, a Greek, and a writer against the Gnostics, chosen bishop of Lyons (A. D. 179); Tertullian, his contemporary, a presbyter of Carthage, one of the most copious and powerful of the early Christian writers; Clement of Alexandria, also a voluminous writer (died A. D. 220); Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, a man of great abilities (suffered death A. D. 258); Origen, presbyter of Alexandria (died A. D. 254), a man of wonderful talent and erudition, although extravagant and heretical in many of his opinions; and Origen's two pupils, Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of New Cæsarea in Cappadocia (died A. D. 264), and Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (died A. D. 265). Of these writers, all wrote in Greek, with the exception of Tertullian and Cyprian, who belonged to the western portion of the Empire, and used the Latin language.

428. It is a striking fact that, during the rise of this new literature, the classical or polytheistic may be said to have come to a close. After the death of Hadrian, the only Roman writers worthy of being mentioned are the jurists Papinian and Ulpian, who flourished in the first half of the third century; the historian Quintus Curtius, who is believed to have flourished in the reign of Septimius Severus (A. D. 193-211); and the ingenious but obscene satirist Petronius Arbiter, whose date is uncertain, but is placed by some in the reign of Gordian (A. D. 238-243). From the beginning of the third century, indeed, the literary activity of the Empire seemed to follow the theological direction which had been given to human

thought. At first, the Christian writers had rivals in the Neo-Platonists, such as Porphyry, Plotinus, and Jamblichus, who sought to prop up paganism by the authority of Plato. The Neo-Platonic school, however, died away; and during the fourth and fifth centuries, the only fresh exertions of human intellect were those of the Christian fathers and controversialists, who, some learned in classical literature, others full of native genius, issued their thunders from all parts of the Roman world. In the midst of these men, fervid, zealous, and able, though often intolerant, a few pagan writers still survived, but those were mere chroniclers or versifiers, whose puny effusions testified the utter decrepitude of the pagan spirit compared with the youthful vigour of the new religion.

429. Till the reign of Constantine, the church had existed without any general organisation more perfect than that which was secured by the recognised authority of certain metropolitan bishops over certain tracts of the Empire, and the occasional deliberations of local assemblies of bishops and presbyters. Constantine, however, in assuming the character of Protector of Christianity, claimed the right of taking such steps as might abolish divisions in discipline and doctrine. Accordingly, having called, and been present at, a great council of the clergy held at Nicæa (A. D. 325), he gave effect to its decisions, and proscribed Arianism and various other heresies. Thus was he more severe to the Christian sectaries than to the pagan population of the Empire. All attempts of Constantine, however, to compel uniformity in the creed and belief of the Church were fruitless; and during the remainder of his reign, the Christian world continued to be agitated by the controversy between Arianism and orthodoxy, of which latter, a redoubted champion soon appeared in the person of Athanasius, presbyter, and afterwards bishop of Alexandria (died A. D. 371).

430. Constantine was more successful in effecting important changes in the civil constitution of the Empire. These were effected gradually: it is convenient, however, to date them from the year 334, when he dedicated the new capital of Constantinople, which he had

begun to build nearly ten years before on the site of the ancient Byzantium. Constantinople was essentially a Christian city; and the transference of the seat of empire to it was typical of the total destruction of the system which had been established by the Roman Cæsars.

431. In the first place, Constantine imitated the policy of Diocletian, in discarding the simple forms with which Augustus and his successors had been content to mark the dignity of their office, and surrounding himself with a great number of officials, distinguished by sounding titles, and charged with the performance of certain duties of utility or etiquette. Of these officers of the palace, eunuchs formed a considerable proportion. Reviving the title of *patrician*, he conferred it as an honorary distinction (differing from a modern peerage only in not being hereditary) on such citizens of the Empire as he wished to elevate in the public estimation; and it became his custom annually to gratify two of these patricians by raising them to the now merely nominal dignity of the consulship.

432. Instead of the old division of the Empire into provinces, Constantine substituted a new arrangement, founded on that of Diocletian. According to this arrangement, the Empire was divided into four parts; and over each was appointed a governor named, by a new application of the title borne by the former captains of the guards, a *Prætorian Prefect*. The prefect of the East ruled over all the Asiatic portions of the Empire, together with Thrace and Egypt; the prefect of Illyricum governed Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Greece; the power of the prefect of Italy extended over Italy, Central Europe as far as the Danube, the islands of the Mediterranean, and the middle portion of the African coast from Egypt to Mauritania; and the prefect of Gaul was obeyed in all those portions of the Empire washed by the Atlantic—namely, Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Africa as far as Mount Atlas. The only portions of the Empire exempted from the jurisdiction of these prætorian prefects were the two capital cities, Rome and Constantinople, each of which obtained a separate prefect—the latter, however, not until a subsequent reign. The four prætorian, the two municipal prefects, the seven chief

ministers of the court, the consuls and patricians, and the masters-general of horse and foot, were all distinguished by the title of *the illustrious*, and constituted the chief nobility of the Empire. Each of the great prefectures was subdivided into *dioceses*—that of the East into five, that of Illyricum into three, that of Italy into two, and that of Gaul into three; constituting in all thirteen dioceses, each large enough to form a powerful kingdom. The title of the governor of the diocese of Egypt was that of *Augustal Prefect;* that of another of the Oriental dioceses was *Count of the East;* the governors of the other eleven dioceses were styled *Vice Prefects.* These thirteen diocesan prefects, together with certain ministers of the palace, and the thirty-five generals who, under the name of *counts* or *dukes*, were invested with the command of the forces in various parts of the Empire, constituted the second class of nobility, and were styled *spectabiles*, or notables. Finally, the provinces, or fragments of the dioceses, which were so multiplied as to be 116 in number, were governed, three of them—namely, Asia Proper, Africa Proper, and Achaia—by *proconsuls;* thirty-seven by *consulars;* five by *correctors;* and seventy-one by *presidents.* All these provincial governors belonged to the third class of nobility, styled *clarissimi*, or *most honourable*, with the exception of the three proconsuls, who ranked in the second. The civil magistrates of the Empire—from the assessors in the humblest local courts up to the prætorian prefects—were chosen from the profession of the law, which thus became the resource of all who were ambitious of civil rank.

433. Constantine has been censured for weakening the military strength of the Empire by his division of the army into the *palatines*, or troops of the court, and the *borderers*, or troops of the frontier; the former of whom, although quartered in the towns of the interior, received higher pay than the latter, who had to bear the brunt of hard service in repelling the barbarians. During his reign, such was the disinclination to military service, that neither bounties nor forced levies were sufficient to maintain the army without frequent accessions of German, Gothic, and Scythian mercenaries—many of whom rose to high rank

as commanders, and became the progenitors of powerful families in the heart of the Empire.

434. After a long and important reign, the great Christian emperor, whose extraordinary abilities none have denied, although his character has been variously judged, died at Nicomedia on the 22d of May 337. Before his death, he had partitioned the Empire among his three sons as Augusti, and two of his nephews as Cæsars. A series of domestic broils ensued, which terminated, in the year 352, in the re-union of the whole Empire under the second son, Constantius, who reigned without credit till the year 361—showing himself still more favourable to Christianity (although according to the Arian creed), and still less tolerant to paganism than his father had been. He died only in time to prevent his defeat by his cousin Julian, a young man of literary tastes, whom he sent to defend the Rhenish frontier against the Germans, and who, after a series of splendid actions, had been proclaimed emperor by the army which he commanded. Julian had been educated as a Christian, but was no sooner raised to the Empire, than he carried into effect his cherished intention of abjuring Christianity, and reverting to the polytheism of the classic heroes and sages whom his studies had taught him to regard as the models of human excellence. Accordingly, the short reign (A. D. 361-3) of this brave, indefatigable, and really able, although somewhat pedantic prince, was spent in a hopeless struggle against the tendencies of the age.

435. Tolerating Christianity, but depriving it of its legal sanctions, and many of its most valued privileges, Julian sought by his example, his writings, and the favour with which he treated the pagans, to win back society into that polytheistic condition from which it had for ever emerged. In his efforts for this end, he might have proceeded to greater lengths, had he not been cut off in a battle with the Persians, into whose country he had marched at the head of a large army. The retreat of the army, who had elected a Christian officer named Jovian to succeed Julian, was purchased only by the restoration to the Persians of a considerable portion of the East, which

had been acquired by Galerius sixty years before. Jovian reigned but a few months, and was succeeded by Valentinian, a stern, but able soldier, and a Christian in his profession; who had no sooner been elected, than he named his brother Valens as his colleague, assigning the Eastern provinces to his charge. Valentinian reigned eleven years (A. D. 364-375), and Valens fourteen (A. D. 364-378), the former occupied in defending the Rhenish frontier against the Germans, the latter distracted by a double labour—that of reducing the various Christian sects by which the East, more than the West, was divided, to a uniform profession of the Arian creed; and that of repelling the invasions of the Persians on the East, and the Goths, &c. on the North. Valentinian had been succeeded by his son Gratian, who assumed his infant half-brother, Valentinian II., as his colleague in the West; and on the death of his uncle Valens, nominated as his successor in the East Theodosius, a young Spaniard, the son of an officer of the same name, who had rendered important services to Valentinian. The death of Gratian (A. D. 383), of Maximus, a Spaniard, who usurped his place (A. D. 387), and of Valentinian II. (A. D. 392), left Theodosius sole sovereign of the again united Empire. The reign of this celebrated prince (A. D. 378-395) is marked by two acts of great importance—the final recognition of the Athanasian creed as the standard of doctrine for the Catholic church (A. D. 380), and the legal suppression of paganism by the prohibition of sacrifices (A. D. 390). Two years before the latter event (A. D. 388), a vote of the senate of Rome had abolished the public worship of the heathen deities. From this period polytheism gradually declined, and shortly became extinct.

436. At his death, in the year 395, Theodosius divided the Empire between his two sons Honorius and Arcadius, assigning to the former the sovereignty of the West, to the latter that of the East, the line of demarcation between the two being an imaginary one, drawn from the Danube, at its confluence with the Drau, to the mouth of the small river Drino, which pours itself into the Adriatic, and thence directly across the Mediterranean to the Great

Syrtis. The two parts thus disjoined were never afterwards reunited, and their histories are from this point separate. A conjunction of causes prolonged the duration of the Eastern or Greek Empire till the year 1453, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks; but a thousand years before this event, its sister empire of the West had crumbled into pieces before the attacks of the northern races, who, mingling everywhere with the effete Latin population, laid the foundation of a new condition of human society. Before narrating this catastrophe—the happy birth, so to speak, of modern European civilisation out of the death of the ancient Roman world — let us take a glance at the condition of that great and heterogeneous mass of nations by whose instrumentality it was effected.

437. The immense tract which stretches from the Rhine in Europe to the Volga, and thence onward through Central Asia to the shores of Japan, was a field which the curiosity of the ancient geographers longed in vain to penetrate. The portion of it with which they did possess a vague and superficial acquaintance—that, namely, which lies between the Rhine in Europe, and the Mountains of Imaus or Caf in Asia—they divided into three great sections: Germany, which stretched from the Rhine to the Carpathian Mountains, with an undefined extent northwards towards Scandinavia and the Baltic; Sarmatia, which included all between the Vistula and the Caspian; and Scythia (Tartary), which lay beyond the Caspian, bordering the north-east of Persia, and withdrawing into the wilderness of Central Asia. At the extreme end of these wildernesses already flourished, unknown to the Romans, the vast civilised empire of China, assailed on its north-western frontier by the outermost of the so-called Scythian hordes. To defend this frontier, the Chinese, three centuries before Christ, had erected a great wall, fifteen hundred miles in length; and it is a curious fact, that the downfall of the Roman Empire, before the attacks of the barbarian races of the Rhine and Danube, was in a great measure the consequence of events which had been

transacted thousands of miles away on the unknown confines of China.

438. The Germans first became known to the Romans after the conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar. They consisted of various nations, inhabiting different portions of their general country, and distinguished by different names —as Suevi, Saxons, &c. The nations were composed of tribes, presided over by chiefs, who governed with the assistance of a council of the oldest and most experienced men of the tribe. The final decision, however, lay with the assembled freemen of the tribe; and in the time of war, the tribes were superseded by shifting associations of free warriors under favourite leaders, to whom they yielded the voluntary obedience of equals. Ignorant of arts, letters, and agriculture, the Germans lived by war, cattle-rearing, hunting, and fishing, roaming from place to place as necessity obliged them, and disdaining to live in towns. Tall in stature, large-limbed, blue-eyed, and fair or red haired, and inured to all the hardy exercises which brace the human frame, they were physically superior to the Romans, although inferior to them in martial discipline. Boisterous, restless, and great consumers of beer, their character was intrinsically frank and chivalrous; falsehood and deceit were the vices most foreign to their nature; and courageous in the field, they were bashful and good-humoured in peace. Their women occupied a higher position, and were regarded with greater respect, than the women of other ancient nations; and their chastity was proverbial. In the speech of the Germans, as well as in their wild and rich mythology, there was discernible a fresh and vigorous poetic enthusiasm; and the strength of their religious feeling was manifested in their veneration for the sun, the moon, and the other great powers of nature, and for the spirits of their departed ancestors.

439. For nearly a century and a half after the attempted conquest of Germany, in the reign of Tiberius, the Rhenish frontier remained secure. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, however, the stability of the Empire was threatened by a great confederation of the German tribes along the Rhine and the Danube, for the purpose of a simultaneous invasion

of the northern provinces. The danger was averted by the energy of the emperor; and his successors during the following century were able, partly by force of arms, partly by establishing friendly relations with the German tribes, to guard against its repetition. Meanwhile, internal fermentation among the Germans themselves, and their contact and intercourse with the Romans, had produced considerable changes in their habits and social condition; and, without suffering the degradation, Germany may be said to have enjoyed the benefits of an outer province of the Empire. In the early part of the third century, the two most conspicuous of the German nations were the Franks and Allemanni—the former a confederacy of warriors in Lower Germany, the latter an assembled mass, chiefly of Suevi, inhabiting the banks of the Maine. In the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus (A. D. 253–268), both these nations burst in upon the Roman Empire; the Franks extending their ravages through Gaul and Spain, as far as Mauritania, and the Allemanni advancing into Italy, almost to the gates of Rome. These invasions, however, did no permanent damage, and were soon forgotten in the general alarm caused by the irruption, at a different point, of a third German race—the Goths.

440. From their original seat in the Scandinavian peninsula, the Goths had migrated, as early as the Christian era, to that portion of the continent which now constitutes the east of Prussia, while the western portion of the same country was occupied by the various tribes of their kinsmen the Vandals—Heruli, Burgundians, Lombards, &c. From Prussia, the Goths, in two divisions—called respectively the *Ostro*, or Eastern, and the *Visi*, or Western *Goths*—advanced gradually inland, until, in the beginning of the third century, they established themselves on the northern shore of the Black Sea, absorbing into their population many recruits from the Germano-Sarmatian nations of the Venedi and Bastarni, as well as from the purely Sarmatian nations of the Jazyges, the Alans, and the Roxalans. For twenty years (A. D. 250–270), the eastern portions of the Roman Empire—Dacia, Greece, and Asia Minor—were frightfully ravaged by successive invasions of this terrible

enemy; and their attacks might have been at length fatal, had not the Emperor Aurelian (A. D. 270) purchased their alliance by the judicious surrender of the province of Dacia, which had been acquired by the valour of Trajan. Dacia was immediately occupied by the Goths and Vandals; and for a period of fifty years, during which the Empire was frequently invaded at different points by other barbarian races, the Goths of Dacia acted rather as a bulwark and defence than as a scourge of the Roman dominions. In the reign of Constantine they again proved troublesome, but were overpowered and reconciled. Meanwhile, subject, like the Germans of the Rhine, to the civilising influence of intercourse with the Romans, they had learnt many arts, and become a powerful and united people. Subduing the Sarmatian tribes on the East, and the Vandalic tribes on the North and West, they had extended their territories, until all between the Baltic and the Danube acknowledged their dominion. About the middle of the fourth century, Hermanric, king of the Ostrogoths, attained the supremacy over the mixed Gothic, Vandalic, and Sarmatian population included within these limits. He lived to a great age; and during his reign, the latter part of which was contemporary with that of Valentinian and Valens (A. D. 364–375), the various enemies of Rome may be said to have been gathered into three bodies—the Germans of the Rhine, including Franks, Allemanni, Saxons, &c.; the Goths between the Danube and the Baltic, including the various vassal races of Sarmatians and Vandals; and the Persians of the East. These three fatal masses lay accumulated on the several frontiers, heaving internally, and ready to discharge themselves upon the Empire, if any cause of sufficient power should operate upon them. Such a cause was presented in the sudden appearance, between the Goths and the Persians, of a fourth enemy—the Huns.

441. Beyond the Scythia Proper of the ancients, which was inhabited by a race of the great Caucasian family of mankind, and which we have since learned to call the Turks, there roamed in the earliest times, as now, the totally distinct race of the Mongols or Tartars. Short, swarthy, thick-set bodies, broad shoulders, large feature-

less faces; scanty beard, and small, black, and deeply-bedded eyes, were and are the physical characteristics of this variety of the human species. Moving in pastoral hordes over the steppes of Central Asia, the Mongols were the terror of their more refined neighbours of the South—the Hindoos of India, and the ingenious and docile population of China. The special foes of the Chinese were the Huns or Hiongu—the name given to the Mongol hordes immediately north of the Chinese wall. For centuries, wars raged between the Huns and the Chinese; but at length, about the time when Domitian was emperor of Rome (A. D. 81-96), the Huns were subjugated, and incorporated with the Chinese, with the exception of one great horde, which withdrew with its flocks and herds, and disappeared in the plains of Central Asia. For two centuries they were lost, but at length their vanguard appeared at the opposite extremity of Asia, on the edge of the Caspian Sea; and about the year 370, their main body, descending from Siberia and Eastern Russia, precipitated itself on the Sarmatian Alans, who roved on their fleet horses between the Caspian and the Don. The Goths foresaw their own fate in that of the Alans; and the aged Hermanric died (A. D. 375) while preparing to defend his dominions against the Huns. The heterogeneous Gothic nation was then broken up; the vassal races of Sarmatians, and a great portion of the Ostrogoths, submitting to the Huns, while the Visigoths applied to the Romans for assistance. By the Emperor Valens, the remnants of the Gothic nation were permitted to cross the Danube, and settle, under the protection of the Romans, in the province of Mæsia, where they were instructed in Christianity by missionaries of the Arian creed. Here they were safe from the Huns, who continued to overrun the countries corresponding to Poland, Hungary, and Southern Russia. The injudicious and tyrannical conduct, however, of the Roman generals, to whose charge the Goths were intrusted, provoked them to rise in arms and ravage Thrace, to the very gates of Constantinople; and it was not till the reign of Theodosius that they were appeased. By that prince they were settled in Thrace and Asia.

442. Immediately after the death of Theodosius, the Goths revolted against his weak successors. Under a young chief of noble descent called Alaric, the Visigoths of Thrace defied the power of the emperor of the East. The skill of Rufinus, however, the profligate minister of Arcadius, diverted the storm from his master's dominions, and turned it against the weaker empire of his brother Honorius, the sovereign of the West. Invading Greece (A. D. 396) with the connivance of Rufinus, Alaric established himself and his nation between the Ægean and the Adriatic—a wedge between the empires of the two brothers. To secure the East, the timid Arcadius invested the Gothic chief (A. D. 398) with the title of Master-General of Illyricum; his own countrymen conferred on him the name of King of the Visigoths. At length (A. D. 402-3), notwithstanding all the precautions of the heroic and able Stilicho, minister and general of Honorius, Alaric made the circuit of the Adriatic, and poured down from the Alps into Italy. During two years, the Goths ravaged the country north of the Po; the abilities of Stilicho, however, prevented their farther progress; and in the year 404, Alaric departed from Italy, while Honorius triumphed in 'the eternal defeat of the Goths.' Only two years had elapsed, when a mingled host of Allemanni, Burgundians, Vandals, and Alans invaded Italy under the command of a leader named Radagaisus. A part of this force was defeated, and its leader put to death by Stilicho, after it had advanced as far as Florence; the remainder turned back into Germany, and at length, joined there by the Franks, crossed the Rhine, and overran Gaul as far as the Pyrenees. This passage of the Rhine by the mingled German races (A. D. 407), who never returned, is to be regarded as the downfall of the Roman Empire north of the Alps; for at the same instant Britain was cut off from the dominion of Honorius by the revolt of the legions, who elevated a common soldier named Constantine to the purple. Constantine passed into Gaul, where he was acknowledged as emperor by the unsubdued part of the Roman population; and from Gaul he advanced into Spain, whither he was speedily followed (A. D. 409) by bands of Suevi, Alans,

and Vandals, who disputed with him the possession of that fine country.

443. Since his retreat from Italy, Alaric had remained in Illyricum, in treaty with both the Eastern and the Western court, and apparently uncertain whether he should lead his Goths towards Rome or towards Constantinople. Had Stilicho lived, it is probable that the friendly relations between Alaric and the emperor of the West might have been maintained; but this able minister having fallen a victim to an intrigue formed against him (August 408), a rupture with the Gothic prince was precipitated by the wretched conduct of Honorius. In October 408, Alaric invaded Italy for the second time, crossed the Po and the Apennines, and thundered on towards Rome—the first foreign enemy, since Hannibal, that approached its gates. Two senators were at length sent to the Gothic camp from the blockaded and half-famished city. In a tone somewhat too dignified for their condition, they spoke of the myriads of Romans with whom Alaric would have to fight, and the strength of people in despair. 'The thicker the hay, the easier mowed,' replied the Goth with a laugh. He agreed, however, to spare the city on certain conditions, and retired into Tuscany to await some conclusive arrangement. The negotiation failed; Alaric took the city (A. D. 409), plundered the houses of the wealthy, but shed no blood, and restrained his troops from excesses; dethroned Honorius, and nominated in his stead Attalus, the city prefect. The folly of Attalus, however, soon disgusted his Gothic master, who set him aside, and renewed his negotiation with Honorius. The treachery and incompetence of the feeble emperor again offended Alaric; and on the 24th of August 410, Rome was sacked by the Visigoths. From Rome, Alaric advanced as a conqueror into the south of Italy, intending to pass over into Sicily and Africa; but ere he could fulfil his intention, he was cut off by a sudden death, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. That the mighty Alaric might repose in a grave worthy of him, his people turned aside the course of the river Busentinus, on whose banks he died, buried him in its bed, and then, re-admitting the waters, let them flow over him.

444. Adolphus, the kinsman and successor of Alaric, concluded a treaty with Honorius, and led his spoil-laden troops into Gaul (A. D. 412), nominally as a general in the Roman service, sent to clear the country of the German invaders, and the various usurpers who, since the death of Constantine, had carried on the revolt against Honorius. After having overrun Gaul, the Visigoths crossed the Pyrenees, and under the leaders Singaric and Wallia, who succeeded Adolphus after his death in 414, wrested Spain from the Suevi, the Alans, and the Vandals, and re-annexed it in form to the Empire (A. D. 419).

445. Gaul and Spain mouldering away — the former under the Visigoths, the Franks, and the Burgundians, who had settled in various districts of it; the latter under the Visigoths, and the remnant of Vandals, Alans, and Suevi which they had left; Britain abandoned to itself by the necessary withdrawal of the Roman legions, and exposed equally to the Pictish freebooters and the Saxon pirates; Upper Germany in possession of the Burgundians, and Lower Germany in the possession of the Franks —such was the state of affairs in the year 423, when Honorius died, bequeathing the throne to his infant nephew Valentinian III. Italy and Africa together might be said now to constitute the Empire of the West. A sudden casualty tore Africa away. Ætius, one of the generals of the Empire, persuaded Placidia, the mother of the infant prince, to recall a rival general, Boniface, from Africa. Alarmed for his life, Boniface refused; and on his invitation, the Vandals of Spain, under their king Genseric, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar (A. D. 429). Meanwhile Boniface had relented; he attempted to oppose the Vandals, but was at length obliged to return to Italy, leaving Africa to their mercy. Before the year 439, the Vandals were masters of the whole country from Mauritania to Carthage.

446. Driven out of Italy by the return of Boniface, Ætius had lived for some time in exile. The assistance of the Huns, however, restored him; and acting as master of the Empire, he endeavoured to make the Huns his instruments for its deliverance and renovation. During the

sixty years which had elapsed since their destruction of the Gothic dominion of Hermanric, this extraordinary people had firmly established themselves in the central portions of Europe, and extended their sway far and wide. Their king now was the famous Attila, a diminutive man with a large head, and square deformed figure, who called himself 'The Scourge of God.' Living in a wooden building, in the heart of his Hunnish village in Hungary, Attila ruled supreme from the Rhine to the Volga, and from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Hunnish hordes, under a thousand chiefs, reverenced him as the prophet and head of their nation; the vassal kings of the subdued Ostrogoths, Vandals, &c. did him homage, and obeyed his decrees; the Scandinavians paid him tribute; the Franks and Burgundians of the Rhine feared him; the Persians anticipated the terror of his presence; and the Empire of the East courted and purchased his forbearance. Ætius had Hunnish blood in his veins, and he hoped to secure in behalf of the Empire which he governed so well the good-will of the terrible Attila.

447. The expectation of Ætius was not fulfilled. Attila cherished the design of a conquest which should embrace the Eastern Empire, the Western Empire, and Persia besides; and a conjunction of circumstances determined him to attack the Western Empire first. Hunneric, or Henry, the son of Genseric, the Vandal king of Africa, had married one of the daughters of Theodoric, the son of the great Alaric, who in the year 419 had succeeded Wallia as king of the Visigoths of Gaul and Spain. On a suspicion that the princess intended to poison him, the savage Genseric cut off her nose and ears, and sent her back to her father. Theodoric, aided by Ætius, prepared to take vengeance for this horrible deed; when Genseric, unable to cope with so formidable a coalition, applied to Attila for assistance.

448. In the year 451, Attila, at the head of an immense host of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Sarmatians, Franks, and Burgundians, crossed the Rhine, and invaded Gaul. He was met on the plains of Chalons by a great army of Romans, Visigoths, Franks, Alans, Saxons, and Armori-

cans, under the joint command of Ætius and Theodoric. The battle was terrible: Theodoric was slain, but the Huns were forced to retreat. In the following year, however, Attila returned and invaded Italy. All the cities north of the Po yielded to the conqueror, who, according to the legend, would have advanced to Rome, but for the effect produced on his mind by the Pontiff Leo, who, going forth to meet him in his sacerdotal robes, menaced him with the fate of Alaric if he should dare to lead his hordes against the holy city, the metropolis of Christendom. Having exacted a heavy ransom, Attila retreated, laden with spoil; and not long afterwards, the Romans were freed from the terror of his return by his death, from the rupture of a blood-vessel, on the night of his marriage with a maiden whom he meant to add to his harem. On the death of Attila, the mighty empire of the Huns fell to pieces.

449. The worthless Valentinian was murdered, at the instigation of a senator named Maximus (A. D. 455), after a reign of thirty-two years. Not long before this event, Ætius, who had saved the Empire, had been put to death by his ungrateful master. Maximus, marrying Eudocia, the widow of Valentinian, succeeded to the Empire. Learning the share he had in her former husband's death, Eudocia invited Genseric, king of the African Vandals, into Italy. Crossing the Mediterranean in a large fleet, Genseric and his Vandals landed at the mouth of the Tiber, pillaged Rome and the whole of Central Italy, and then re-embarked, carrying with them an enormous booty, the spoil of villas, mansions, and churches, and thousands of captives of both sexes. Maximus had been killed in a tumult before the landing of the Vandals; and by the help of Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths, Avetus, who commanded in Gaul, was chosen his successor. With the consent of Avetus, Theodoric conquered the Suevi, who were again growing into power in Spain, and rendered it in effect a Visigothic kingdom.

450. Meanwhile (A. D. 456), Avetus was compelled to resign by a Gothic general, Ricimer, who had acquired great influence, and who appointed a brave war-

rior named Marjorian to the vacant throne. He wrested Spain from Theodoric, and made war upon Genseric, but was dethroned in the year 461 by the impatient Ricimer, who named an obscure citizen, Libius Severus, his successor. Severus was a puppet in the hands of Ricimer; but after five years, the ambitious Goth was compelled to flee to Constantinople, where, at his request, the Emperor Leo, the fourth sovereign of the East since Arcadius, named a new emperor for the distracted West. The person chosen was Anthemius, son-in-law of Leo's predecessor. Arriving at Rome in April 467, Anthemius assumed the government, giving his daughter in marriage to Ricimer. Five years afterwards (A. D. 472), a civil war broke out between the emperor and his Gothic son-in-law: Anthemius was taken and put to death, but Ricimer did not long survive. The court of Constantinople then appointed a youth, Julius Nepos, to the throne of the West. Glycerius, a nobleman whom the Romans had elected, retired from the contest, and Nepos reigned till the year 475, when, terrified by a revolt of the mixed barbarian forces of the Empire, under their commander Orestes, he abdicated. Orestes named his own son, Romulus Augustulus, emperor. The barbarian armies, however, disdaining to submit longer to the mockery of a Roman emperor, and resolved to possess Italy as their kinsmen were possessing Gaul and Spain, put Orestes to death, accepted the resignation of Augustulus, and raised one of their own number, a Vandal chief named Odoacer, to the throne. Thus fell the Empire of the West, in the year of Christ 476; after the downfall of the Republic 507; and from the foundation of the city 1230.

451. Italy in the possession of a miscellaneous body of all the barbarian races; Africa occupied by Vandals, with a slight admixture of Alans and Suevi; Spain a Visigothic kingdom, disputed by a remnant of Suevi, &c.; Gaul in the hands of Franks, Goths, and Burgundians; Switzerland filled with Burgundians and Allemanni; Germany with its native Franks, Allemanni, and Saxons; Britain distracted between the wild Celts of the north and the Saxons who

had just invaded it; and lastly, the banks of the Danube still swarming with Huns, Vandals, Goths, and Sarmatians, the remains of the shattered empire of Attila—such was the aspect of what had once been the Western Roman Empire, in the year 476. To continue the narrative farther, would be to enter on modern history. Suffice it to observe, that in all the countries named, except Germany and Austria, the condition of society was that produced by the diffusion of a mass of conquering foreigners, chiefly Germans, through the old Latin or Romanised population. In Germany and Western Austria, but especially in the former, the original races remained pure, almost as pure as in Scandinavia. Hence to this day a distinction between the Germano-Latin and the purely German portions of the continent. Again, in all the countries named, except Germany, Austria, and Britain, there existed at the termination of the Empire a Christian church, with its hierarchy of clergy, its monastic system, &c. complete. Germany and Austria were still almost wholly pagan; nor in Britain had Christianity much more than taken root. Curiously enough too, the conquerors who had embraced Christianity were almost all Arians, while the conquered populations were orthodox. The first struggle, accordingly, in the Latin part of modérn Europe, was one between Arianism and orthodoxy. The triumph of the latter established the unity of the Christian church, after which the evolution of modern society proceeded more calmly—the power of the Christian church co-operating with the fresh vitality of the German races in producing a new order of things. Five great nations—the French, the British, the Italians, the Germans, and the Spaniards—gradually emerged from the ruins of the Western Empire. How these nations were individually formed, and how, after being formed, they acted upon each other, are subjects which belong to GENERAL MODERN HISTORY.

RECAPITULATION.

1. The early history of the Romans, like that of most other nations, is involved in the obscurity of fable and tradition; yet applying the general principles of humanity to them as a people, enough can be detected to establish the facts—that at an early period the left bank of the Tiber was inhabited by pastoral tribes of Latins, Sabines, and Etrusco-Latins; that these, partly by consent, and partly by the compulsion of the most powerful, coalesced so as to form a township of some consequence; that this township was called Rome, after its reputed founder Romulus, and began to be constructed with some degree of regularity and defence about the year 754 before the Christian era.

2. The original constitution of these tribes appears to have been strictly patriarchal—the aged and experienced guiding in society, instructing in the rearing of flocks and the arts of simple husbandry, and leading in the numerous forays and quarrels incidental to their primitive and peculiar condition of life. At length, when homesteads grew to hamlets, hamlets to villages, and these again coalesced in a single township, the patriarchs united into a common council, which was swayed and led by the most skilful and powerful, one of whom ultimately assumed the chief command. Thus the earliest constituted government of the Romans was that of *monarchy*, which may be regarded as simultaneous with the founding of their city.

3. The authentic history of Rome and the Roman people divides itself into two great periods. During the *first*, which extends from B. C. 754, the assigned date of the foundation of the city, to B. C. 264, when they became masters of the whole peninsula, the Romans may be said to have been engaged in the preliminary task of forming

their own character, and acquiring confidence in their own powers. During the *second*, which extends from B. C. 264 to A. D. 476, they were engaged first in subjugating the various nations surrounding the Mediterranean, and then in consolidating them into one vast empire under a common rule. In course of the 1250 years of vitality and energy thus embraced, their government was successively monarchical, republican, and imperial—these forms respectively enduring for 145, 540, and 445 years.

4. The various stages of the career of the Romans while they were training themselves for the conquest of the Mediterranean world on the preparatory arena of the Italian peninsula, are well-marked. First the little township enlarged its bounds at the expense of the neighbouring tribes, until, by incorporating them with itself, it became a considerable nation; then, as a nation, it began to aim at the sovereignty of the peninsula. At the commencement it received a check, from the invasion of Italy by the Gauls; but recovering its strength, it boldly attacked the nations of the peninsula, one by one—the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls of the north, the Samnites of the centre, and the Greek colonies of the south —all of whom yielded to its superior prowess, until ultimately Italy became a united country, with the city of Rome for its capital.

5. Simultaneous with this extension of territory, a gradual change in the political feeling of the nation had been going forward. Monarchy had become unpopular; and when Rome attained the limits of an Italian nation, it threw off the kingly form of government, and assumed that of a republic, in which the greatest share of power belonged to the members of the oldest Houses, who were called *patricians;* while the *plebeians*, who constituted the great mass of the population, exercised only a negative voice. As the nation increased in power, however, the plebeians were able, in a series of contests, to compel the patricians to share with them the offices and dignities of the state; and about the time that the conquest of the peninsula was complete, the distinction between patrician and plebeian had ceased to be of

importance, being superseded by the greater distinction between a *Roman*—that is, a citizen of the central state—and an *Italian*—that is, a citizen of any of the subject states of the peninsula. A power seated on the Tiber, and radiating thence through all Italy, binding its various populations together, and able at any time to call forth their joint resources, such was the condition of Rome when, in the year B. C. 264, she commenced to subjugate the nations surrounding the Mediterranean.

6. Meanwhile great changes had taken place in the condition of the then civilised world, which, for perspicuity, it is necessary to notice. The Persians, who, when Rome was founded, were a mere horde of roaming tribes, had become a great power; had conquered Assyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Jews, and Egyptians, and established an empire including them all, extending from the Indus to the Ægean (B. C. 500). This empire had in its turn been subverted by the Greeks, who, after a splendid career in their condition as a cluster of independent states, had been united under Alexander the Great, and by him led to the conquest of the East (B. C. 330). The empire of Alexander, which extended from the Indus to the Adriatic, had, on that conqueror's death, fallen asunder into various parts; and to a Roman surveying the eastern shores of the Mediterranean about the year B. C. 264, three great powers (fragments of Alexander's empire) presented themselves—the Macedonian kingdom, consisting of the Greek countries proper; the Græco-Syrian kingdom, including Asia Minor, with the ancient countries of the Assyrians and Babylonians; and the Græco-Egyptian kingdom, including Egypt, Palestine, and Phœnicia. While these powers shared among them the East, a single great power was sovereign in the West. This was Carthage; five centuries before, a mere colony of Phœnicia, but now a wealthy merchant-state, the centre of an extensive but scattered dominion in Africa, Spain, and the islands adjacent.

7. Surveying the Mediterranean world, the Romans singled out the Carthaginians as the first object of attack. Conquering this people in a long and arduous struggle

(B. C. 264–134), they thereby added Spain, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and a great part of Northern Africa to their dominion. Then turning eastward, they dissolved the Macedonian kingdom, and became masters of the Greek countries of the Ægean. Crossing thence into Asia Minor, they overturned the Græco-Syrian monarchy, extending their sovereignty over the territories which had belonged to it; and finally, rounding the Levant, they stretched their hands over Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt (B. C. 90). Having thus possessed themselves of all those parts of the Mediterranean world which had been previously subjugated by others, they penetrated, under their greatest general, Julius Cæsar, into the new regions of Central and Western Europe, and annexed the Gauls (B. C. 50) to the medley of nations over which they exercised sovereignty. Thus the Roman Empire came eventually to include all the countries lying between the Euphrates and the Atlantic.

8. The Empire thus established was divisible into two portions—Italy and the Provinces. With so vast an extent of foreign territory, it was impossible to maintain the jealous distinction between Roman citizen and Italian subject which had hitherto subsisted. Accordingly, as this distinction had superseded that between patrician and plebeian, so in its turn, by the admission of the Italians to the full Roman franchise (B. C. 88), it gave way to the new and more important distinction between *Italian* and *Provincial.* Again, it was found that the old republican constitution which had sufficed for the peninsula, was insufficient for the wants of so vast and heterogeneous an assemblage of nations as that which the Empire embraced. Accordingly, after a series of civil wars, the Commonwealth was abolished, and the supreme authority vested in a single chief or emperor (B. C. 30). Under him the government was administered by a vast body of officials, civil and military, diffused through the mother country and provinces.

9. For nearly five centuries, during which a long succession of emperors reigned, the Roman power succeeded in maintaining its unity. The distinction between Italian and provincial gradually disappeared; and about the year A. D. 215, all the free citizens of the Empire became po-

unfeeling people. Their public amusements, their modes of punishment, and their treatment of captives, were generally cruel and barbarous. There was a grandeur about all their public works—temples, baths, roads, aqueducts, sewers, walls of defence, public arenas, and other arrangements—but in their private and social qualities there was little to admire. One of the greatest blots on their ultimate condition was the universality of slavery—one-half of the population being in greater or less degree under bondage. But before we can sternly condemn in this respect, we have only to reflect how recently it is since the blot was wiped from our own character, or to glance at slavery in republican and Christian America. We have little evidence to show that the Romans used their slaves worse than they are now dealt with in America, while we have ample proof of the familiarity and indulgence with which they were frequently treated.

13. *Politically*, the Romans, like other nations, were continually struggling towards a perfection, an ease, and quietness in government which they never, or but at the briefest intervals, attained. They passed progressively from the patriarchal to the monarchical state, from this to the republican; and when virtue and good order might have preserved the popular liberty, dissoluteness of manners, venality, and debasement compelled the adoption of an imperial despotism. Many of their favourite dogmas, as the law of debtor and creditor, agrarian divisions, support of the poor, provincial taxation, and the like, were evidently founded on error. Hence the perpetual scenes of strife, popular commotion, uproar, and resistance. Much, however, of their civil code was well adapted to the wants of society, and this quality, conjoined with its brevity and perspicuity, has rendered not a little of the Roman law still available in the code of our own country.

14. In their *religious character*, the Romans are hardly to be judged of at the present day. Polytheists as they were, they seem to have been devout and observant of rites and festivals. Indifferent they might occasionally be, but rarely profane—profanity being one of the latest vices of the latter republic and empire. One good quality they

pre-eminently exhibited—namely, the toleration of other forms and rituals than their own, no matter whether exhibited at home, or in the countries they conquered. And while they were thus tolerant of others, they were equally plastic as to the admission of new deities to their own Pantheon, or a new creed to their superstitions. Believers in omens, divinations, dreams, and the like, they were superstitious to excess—a weakness scarcely consistent with their otherwise stern and manly characteristics.

15. *Commercially*, the early Romans were inferior to most of the other nations surrounding the Mediterranean; and even when all of these nations yielded to their power, much of the foreign imports was brought to the Tiber in provincial vessels. They delighted more in pastoral and agricultural pursuits than in trading; in conquest and colonising rather than in commerce.

16. Deriving their *arts* and *manufactures* from the Etruscans, Greeks, Phœnicians, and Carthaginians, they rarely improved upon their models; preferring, indeed, the employment of foreign workmen to engaging in the arts themselves. Thus, though many of their cities and edifices exhibited great splendour and magnificence, and their houses and dress much finery and elegance, it was to Greek architects, sculptors, and painters, to Phœnician and Etruscan handicraftsmen, to whom they were mainly indebted. The Greeks, in fine, were their great models in the arts. Obtaining their own knowledge originally from Egypt and the merchant cities of the Levant, the Greeks bequeathed it in an improved form to the Romans, from whose hands it passed, modified, but not improved, to the nations of Western Europe.

17. For their *literature* and *philosophy* the Romans also depended in a great measure upon the Greeks. Greek masters taught their youth, and presided in their schools; Greek scribes wrote in their libraries, acted in their public offices; Greek authors were their models and instructors; and many of the Roman youth went to study in the academies of Greece. Notwithstanding, the native genius of the Romans elaborated in time a language and literature of their own, which, if void of the polished elegance of

their early model, has at least the merit of equal precision, perspicuity, and power. As the great tide of civilisation and refinement passed from Asia Minor to Greece, and from Greece to Rome, the Roman influence had no reflex power in moulding the thoughts or habits of the Orientals; it impinged directly on the new nations of the West—France, Spain, Britain, &c.—whose languages to the present day exhibit how much of the Roman element had entered into their composition and construction. How much of their arts, agriculture, and general tone of civilisation these nations derived from the Romans, it is now impossible to determine, modern influences having raised up an entirely new system of things; but if we are to judge from their languages, which are essentially Latin, then has Rome performed a most important part in the history of mankind.

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